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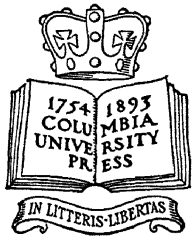
THE INTERCESSION OF OUR LORD

The Intercession of Our Lord

By

Joseph Buchanan Bernardin



New York

Columbia University Press

M. cm. xxxiii

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COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Published 1933

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
THE CAYUGA PRESS, ITHACA, NEW YORK

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PREFACE

We are so accustomed to ending our liturgical prayers with "through Jesus Christ our Lord" that any former theological significance of the phrase has long ago faded into an endeared convention that it is the proper and fitting close of every correctly constructed prayer. And yet there was a time when the phrase was pregnant with meaning, a real belief that man's prayers are presented to the Father by the Son, the great High Priest of humanity, and thereby take on a new significance in His eyes which they would not otherwise have.

Heaven was a very real place patterned after earth, with a palace and temple for its heavenly King; in the first of which Christ as the Son sat on the right hand of the Father and had immediate access to His ear, and in the second of which He acted as the Great High Priest. And it was only through Him that those who were His disciples thought of approaching God.

This mode of realistic picture thinking has in a large measure passed out of serious theological thought, and in Protestant theology the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord has for some time dropped into the background, although lingering on in liturgical phrases dating from an earlier era.

In this book[1] an attempt is made to trace the origin and early history of the doctrine. The material was originally gathered while the author was a student at the Union Theological Seminary, New York City. For whatever it may contain that is good, I am indebted to my teachers there, Professors James E. Frame, E. F. Scott, F. J. Foakes Jackson, and James Moffatt, whose inspiring scholarship and kind patience made study an adventurous pleasure. To another former teacher, Professor H. A. Wolfson of Harvard University, I am indebted for his gracious kindness in verifying the references to rabbinic sources. Professor Robert P. Casey of the University of Cincinnati and the Rev. Dr. Edward R. Hardy, Jr. of the General Theological Seminary, New York City, have read the work in proof, and I am deeply grateful to them for their valuable and helpful criticism.

J. B. BERNARDIN

NEW YORK CITY
Purification, 1933

[1] As far as can be discovered there are no other monographs dealing exclusively with the intercession of our Lord. The following books which treat in passing of the subject will be found most valuable:

Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet, von Josef Andreas Jungmann, S. J., Münster, 1925.

Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit, von Eduard Freiherrn von der Goltz, Leipzig, 1901.

Das Gebet,[5] von Friedrich Heiler, München, 1923.

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CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE DOCTRINE OF INTERCESSION

It is a well-known Socratic principle that the first act of investigation is definition. And so, *intercession*[1] may at once be defined as the act of coming in between two parties and intervening on behalf of one with the other.[2] The word itself does not imply formal pleading, and is consequently not limited to intercessory prayer,[3] but is rather the attempt at influencing the

[1] The word "intercession" came into English from the Norman French, with a meaning originating solely in mediaeval Latin. *Intercedere* and *intercessio* are unknown to the Vulgate in the sense of "intercede," for which it employs *interpellare* and *postulare*, and *postulatio* and *oratio*.

[2] The intervention is generally for some good, but occasionally requests are found for harm and punishment.

[3] Nevertheless the concept of intercession is intimately bound up with that of prayer. Prayers in reference to objects or persons other than oneself are known as intercessions, and are found from the earliest times. They require no explanation of their origin other than the natural human desire to help people or objects in which one is interested. They play a prominent part in Jewish devotional life and are frequent in the Old Testament. St. Paul's Epistles, as well as the rest of the New Testament, abound in references to them. This common practice of Jews and Christians alike had great influence in shaping the belief in the heavenly intercession of our Lord. Any act of intercession must in its larger sense be an act of prayer, and it was in connection with the prayer life of Christians, rather than in reference to their salvation, that the doctrine of intercession took on its chief significance. Prayer may be understood in a wide or in a narrow sense. Some would confine it merely to formal peti-

attitude of a first party toward a second, by means of a third.[4]

Instances of intercession are found throughout the world amongst practically all primitive peoples as far back as we have record and down to those still remaining at the present day.[5] At first it was the father of the family[6] who prayed for the good of his children and their descendants, in particular for the preservation of their life, their health, and their prosperity.[7] It was assumed that, as he was the most important

tion addressed to the Deity, but prayer is essentially verbal communion with a divine being. This includes confession, thanksgiving, petition; and, in addition, all apostrophes, doxologies, benedictions, and prayerful wishes. Such wishes are really informal prayers. Prayer, however, to be verbal need not necessarily be spoken; it may be silent. At the same time there is a distinct difference between silent prayer and longing, which is nothing but inarticulate feeling.

[4] The terms "intercession" and "mediation" are often confused. Intercession is one form of mediation. But mediation in theological language is directed both from God to the universe and from the universe to God, while intercession is only from men and spiritual beings to God. Intercession embraces only request, implied or expressed, while mediation has to do with creation, revelation, salvation, and the bestowal of both supernatural and natural gifts. Mediation in English may often be used in the narrow sense of intercession alone, but intercession can never be used in the wider sense of mediation. The idea of mediation is an ancient one, traces of it being found in the most primitive religions. It is common throughout the Old Testament, where the prophets mediate revelation and the priests redemption. In the New Testament our Lord is pictured as Mediator in relation to creation (John 1:3; 1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16; Heb. 1:2), redemption (1 Tim. 2:5; Heb. 8:6, 9:15,12:24), and revelation (Matt. 11:27; John 14:6,9), and as the sole Mediator between God and man (John 1:3, 14:6; Acts 4:12; Col. 2:9; 1 Tim. 2:5).

[5] F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*,[5] pp. 69, 70. [6] *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

[7] *Op. cit.*, pp. 69, 70.

man of the tribe, his requests would naturally be the most readily heard by the tribal gods.

The doctrine of intercession from the earliest times is a perfect example of the human weakness of assuming that the ways of men are the ways of God, and the doctrine undoubtedly had its rise in the picturization of heaven as a glorified earth and the gods as superhuman kings with the passions of ordinary men.[8] Men realized that their earthly chief, or ruler, would do things for them that he would not for members of other tribes, or that he would grant the request of a son or a favourite where he would not that of an ordinary individual. And so they pictured their gods as listening with greater readiness to those who stood in some special relationship to them.

As the gift of a present to an earthly ruler was one way of obtaining his favour or appeasing his anger, so it was thought it was an effective means of obtaining one's request from the deity, and consequently we have the rise of sacrifice, which in itself was an intercession.[9] The head of the family offered the sacrifice, but as time went on and the tribes were merged into larger units and the heads of families lost some of their importance, it came to be thought that there were special ways of offering these gifts which were more pleasing to the gods than others and, as a consequence, there arose a body of men, known as priests, who were skilled in these ways, and who took over

[8] *Op. cit.*, pp. 126, 127. [9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 71-80.

from the heads of families both the office of offering sacrifice and, to a large extent, that of making intercession.[10]

But as the number of priests multiplied and their manner of life warranted the disfavour both of gods and men, the prophets became those to whom the people looked to obtain their petitions for them from the deity, for they stood in an especially close relationship to the gods. As time went on and the gods began to make stricter ethical demands upon men, those who fulfilled their will and lived righteous lives incurred their especial favour and were, as a consequence, sought out as intercessors by their fellow men.

In later Judaism men not only knew of the splendour of the court of Solomon and of his successors, but they were also familiar with tales of the magnificence of those of other earthly rulers, and with it went a corresponding increase in their conception of the power and majesty of the gods, and of Yahweh in particular. At the court of some great ruler it was almost impossible for an ordinary man to approach him with a request except through someone standing in special relation to him. Interviews were arranged through courtiers, or else the whole matter was handled through some mediating official, who was considered to have special influence with the king.

And so it was with Yahweh. As He became more transcendent and men became more conscious of their

[10] For the connection of prayer and sacrifice in Judaism, see Appendix A.

separation from Him, due to their sin, they thought it all the more necessary to present their requests to Him through intermediaries who stood in special relationship to Him, in order to insure their being heard. Such intermediaries were the prophets and righteous here on earth, or else the angels who thronged His court in heaven, or the dead who because of their righteousness had been admitted to His Presence.

Now in Judaism we find many instances of these patriarchs,[11] prophets,[12] rulers,[13] priests,[14] and the righteous[15] acting as intercessors for their fellow men. The oldest documents which we have record such instances, and it is impossible now to know whether the beliefs were native to the Jews or borrowed from the tribes around them. Certainly such beliefs were common to the Babylonians,[16] where there are many instances in the inscriptions of lesser spiritual beings interceding with the greater gods on behalf of men, and in particular of the eldest son and heir of the king beseeching his father on behalf of various persons. There is a well-known inscription where Marduk ap-

[11] Gen. 18:22-32, 20:7,17.

[12] Gen. 20:7; Exod. 8:8,12,28-30, 9:28,33, 10:17,18, 17:11,12, 18:19, 32:11-13,31,32; Num. 11:2, 12:13, 14:13-19; Deut. 9:18,25-29, 21:8; 1 Sam. 7:5,8,9, 12:19,23; 1 Kings 13:6, 17:20,21; 2 Kings 19:4; Ps. 99:6; Isa. 37:4; Dan. 9:20,21; Amos 7:2,5; Jonah 1:6.

[13] Josh. 7:6-9; 2 Sam. 12:16, 24:17,25; 1 Kings 8:22-54; 2 Kings 19:19; 1 Chron. 29:10-19; 2 Chron. 30:18,19; Neh. 1:4-11.

[14] Lev. 16:21; Ezra 6:10; Ps. 99:6.

[15] Job 42:8-10; Dan. 2:18.

[16] See H. Zimmern, *Vater, Sohn, and Fürsprecher in der babylonischen Gottesvorstellung*, Leipzig, 1896.

peals to his father Ea, the sea god, to heal a sick man, and Ea bestows the power upon Marduk to do so. The fire god, who goes under the various names of Gibil, Girru, or Nusku, and is often linked in a triad with Ea and Marduk, is especially pictured as an intercessor for men. However, although the Jews were acquainted with Babylonian legends at a very early date in their history, there is no reason to suppose that the practice of intercession among them was anything but indigenous.

In the Old Testament the patriarch Abraham is found interceding for Sodom,[17] or the prophet Ezekiel praying for the remnant of Israel,[18] or the ruler David pleading for his people,[19] or righteous Job for his friends,[20] or the high priest for the nation.[21] The prophet in particular was thought to have special influence in persuading the Deity,[22] and consequently it was to Moses' outstretched hands in prayer, as he stood on the hilltop, that the victory of Israel over the Amalekites was attributed.[23] Samuel even conceived it a sin for a prophet not to intercede for his people.[24] One must, however, be a genuine prophet of Yahweh to be heard, for He will not listen to false ones.[25]

[17] Gen. 18:22-32. [18] Ezek. 9:8, 11:13.

[19] 2 Sam. 24:17,25. [20] Job 42:8-10. Cf. also 4 Ezra 6:32.

[21] Lev. 16:21; Num. 6:23-27. For the connection of the offices of high priest and king in Jewish thought, see Appendix B.

[22] Gen. 20:7,17.

[23] Exod. 17:11,12. For outstretched hands to heaven as indicative of prayer, cf. Exod 9:33; 1 Kings 8:22; Ps. 134:2, 141:2; 2 Macc. 15:12.

[24] 1 Sam. 12:19,23. [25] Jer. 27:18.

The prayer tradition of early Judaism is found chiefly among the prophets, taking its rise in Moses who spoke to Yahweh face to face,[26] and reaching its highest point in Jeremiah, who made out of prayer a personal, individual communion of the soul with God.[27] No wonder that it was these men and others like them who were sought out by their fellows to pray for them.

Most of the intercessions are for the forgiveness of sins.[28] When a man was conscious of being a sinner, he was also aware of the fact that he had no claim on Yahweh. This was forfeited by his sin and he was at the mercy of his God. But there were, however, righteous men in close relationship to Him who, by their righteousness, were entitled to be heard and could pray for his pardon. And hence arose the prevalence of such intercessions. But it is several times brought out in the prophets that there are sins for which no intercession will avail,[29] and Jeremiah is told specifically not to pray for the people because of their sins.[30] Similarly David's prayer for his dying child was rejected because of his own transgression.[31]

[26] Exod. 33:11; Num. 12:8; Deut. 34:10.

[27] Jer. 10:23,24, 12:1-4, 14:7-9, 20:7-13, 29:12, 31:33,34.

[28] Exod. 10:17, 32:11-13,31,32; Num. 11:2, 14:13-19; Deut. 9:18,19, 25-29, 21:8; Josh. 7:6-9; 1 Sam. 7:5,8,9, 12:19; 2 Sam. 24:17; 2 Chron. 30:18,19; Ezra 9:5-15; Neh. 1:4-11; Jer. 14:7-9; Ezek. 9:8; Dan. 9:3-21; Amos 7:2,5.

[29] Isa. 1:15; Jer. 7:16, 11:14, 14:11,12, 15:1; Ezek. 9:8,10. Cf. Matt. 12:31,32 = Mark 3:29 = Luke 12:10; Heb. 6:6; 1 John 5:16.

[30] Jer. 7:16, 11:14, 14:11. [31] 2 Sam. 12:16.

But these are rare instances, and the general Jewish belief was that even if one's own righteousness was not sufficient, that of one's intercessor might be, or if not that, then the merits of the fathers, whose descendants they were, might obtain for them requests which their own righteousness did not warrant. The Psalmist mentions the prayers of Moses, Aaron, and Samuel being heard by Yahweh because they kept His testimonies,[32] and the good deeds of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are several times mentioned as reasons why Yahweh should have mercy and forgive His people.[33] This is an indirect, but nevertheless humanly effective form of intercession, and it was thought in early times to have great influence with the Deity. In the hands of the later rabbis it underwent an extensive development. It is nothing more nor less than the present use of influential names in obtaining favours.[34]

Occasionally references are found to intercessory prayer on the part of the general run of mankind,[35] but this is not so common, and generally they either

[32] Ps. 99:6-8. [33] Exod. 32:13; Deut. 9:27.

[34] Various other appeals, in addition to the use of influential names are made to persuade the Deity. Men offer Him homage, praise, and thanksgiving (1 Kings 8:23; Neh. 9:5,6,32; Hab. 3:3); they appeal to His own interest (Ps. 6:6, 30:10, 88:10-12, 115:17; Isa. 38:18; Jer. 14:7,21); they remind Him of His former good deeds (Neh. 9:7,8; Ps. 22:4,5, 25:6), or recall His promises (Exod. 32:13; Jer. 14:21), or His Fatherhood (Isa. 63:16, 64:7), or His mercy (Ps. 51:1); or they make mention of their own piety (Neh. 13:14; Ps. 7:9, 26:1, 86:2; Jer. 12:3, 15:15), all in an attempt to influence His will.

[35] Ps. 20, 61, 122:6; Jer. 29:7.

request someone else to pray for them[36] or else these special persons pray for them of their own accord.[37] Intercessions, like all prayers, are conceived of as being for the good of the persons concerned, but at that date and even to our own time, this is often confused with the destruction of one's enemies.[38]

As time went on and a belief in the resurrection of the body and an after-life in the Presence of Yahweh grew among the Jews, there began to appear a few references in the later passages of the Old Testament which seem to imply the intercession of righteous men in heaven for those on earth.[39] This is perfectly natural for, as these men were conceived as having special powers of intercession while here, they would naturally be thought to have even greater powers now that they were in the very Presence of God as a reward for their righteousness.[40]

[36] Exod. 8:8,28, 9:28, 10:17; Num. 11:2, 12:11,12; 1 Sam 7:8, 12:19; 1 Kings 13:6; 2 Kings 19:4; Job 42:9; Isa. 37:4; Jer. 37:3, 42:2,4,9; Dan. 2:18; Jonah 1:6.

[37] Gen. 18:22-32; Exod. 32:11-13,31,32; Num. 14:13-19; Deut. 9:18, 25-29; Josh. 7:6-9; 2 Sam. 24:17,25; 2 Chron. 30:18,19; Ezra 9:5-15; Neh. 1:4-11; Jer. 14:7-9; Ezek. 9:8, 11:13; Dan. 9:3-21; Amos 7:2,5.

[38] Ps. 109; Jer. 18:19-23, 20:12.

[39] This did not originate from ancestor worship as has sometimes been suggested.

[40] The most certain of these passages is Isa. 63:16, which refers to the heavenly intercession of Abraham and Jacob. Jer. 15:1 may be interpreted of Moses and Samuel interceding in heaven, or more probably that, if they were alive and interceding on earth, Yahweh would not even hearken unto them. Jer. 31:15,16 refers either to Rachel in her grave praying for her descendants, or else may be taken metaphorically to mean that Yahweh will bring Israel back from captivity because of its forefathers. This latter would only involve the silent intercession of the merits of the fathers.

There is also in the later passages of the Old Testament at least one reference to the intercession of angels. Angels also stood in the Presence of God and did His will and hence had an immediate and worthy access to Him and, as the belief in their existence and activity spread, it was natural to expect that beings which stood in such an intermediate position between God and men would become intercessors. In Zech. 1:12 the angel of Yahweh appeals to Him to have mercy on Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, and Yahweh promises to do so. Angelic intercession is also probably implied in Job 5:1, 33:23-26. There are also instances of accusing angels pleading against men in Job and Zechariah.[41] There is in addition the striking passage in Isa. 53:12 where the nation of Israel, under the figure of the Suffering Servant, is regarded as interceding for its enemies.[42]

In the literature written in the period between the Old and New Testaments, commonly known as the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, a further development of the idea of intercession over that of the Old Testament is found. This is chiefly due to a belief in the resurrection of the body and a life of the righteous dead in the Presence of God; the increased interest in angelology; and the feeling in many circles of the remoteness of their holy God from sinful men.

[41] Job. 1:9-11, 2:4,5; Zech. 3:1.

[42] For a full discussion of this passage, see Appendix C.

Men on earth still intercede for their fellows.[43] And in 2 Macc. 12:40-45 when Judas and his men find consecrated tokens of the idols of Jamnia under the garments of their slain comrades, they immediately beseech the Lord that the sin of their brethren may be forgiven, and at the same time present a sin offering, the only instance in a Jewish writing, before the time of our Lord, of prayers for the dead by those still alive on earth. It is, however, a natural consequence of a belief in intercession coupled with a belief in the resurrection of the dead. This and 2 Macc. 1:6 are among the earliest references to the intercession of ordinary men for others, showing that it is no longer confined exclusively to the prophets, priests, and rulers, as at this period there were no prophets, and the tenure of office of both priests and kings was extremely uncertain.

In this literature references abound to those in heaven interceding with God. Maccabaeus sees a vision of Onias the high priest and Jeremiah the prophet in heaven invoking blessings upon the whole body of the Jews and praying fervently for the holy city.[44] There are several accounts of Enoch's interceding with the Lord for the angels who defiled themselves with women.[45] This concept is not found elsewhere, and the Lord tells Enoch that angels should

[43] T. Reub. 1:7, 4:4; T. Jud. 19:2; T. Gad 5:9; T. Ben. 3:6; 2 Macc. 1:6, 24-29; 2 Bar. 2:2, 63:5; Ps. Sol. 6:7,8; Judith 9:1-14.

[44] 2 Macc. 15:12-16. [45] 1 En. 13:4-7, 15:2, 16:2; 2 En. 7:4,5.

intercede for men, and not men for angels. These stories presuppose that the merits of a righteous man like Enoch have a special claim on God. In another passage Enoch is designated by God as the redeemer of the sins of men and the helper of his people.[46] Moses also occupies a prominent place as a heavenly intercessor.[47]

In the literature before the time of our Lord we find the righteous in heaven praying and interceding for the children of men,[48] but this doctrine is several times denied in works written after His death. In 4 Ezra 7:102-115 it is specifically said that at the Judgment Day the righteous will not be able to intercede for the ungodly, nor relations for one another, as man can not affect the judgment for better or worse in any way; every man must stand on his own deeds. During this transitory present age the righteous fathers prayed for the people but no one will be able to do so after the judgment. In 2 En. 53:1 it is also denied that a father can help a son on the day of judgment or that there is any helper for a man who has sinned. And again in 2 Bar. 85:12 the intercession of the fathers, the prayers of the prophets, and the help of the righteous is denied to sinners. These denials are interesting because they testify to the prevalence of such beliefs.

The intercession of angels is fairly frequent in this literature. Raphael, one of the seven angels of the

[46] 2 En. 64:5. [47] Ass. Mos. 11:14,17, 12:6.

[48] 1 En. 39:5. Cf. also 1 En. 97:3,5, 99:16 where the righteous in heaven pray for vengeance on sinners and 1 En. 22:12 where the wicked in torment pray for vengeance on those who have escaped punishment.

Presence, brings the prayer of Tobit and Sarah before the Lord and Michael comes down to receive the prayers of men.[49] He also presents their merits before God, which have already been presented to him by the angels.[50] Here the intercession is a mediatory one. The angels present to God the requests of others; this in itself being a silent intercession that the request may be granted.

The archangels of the sixth heaven minister and make propitiation to the Lord for the sins of ignorance of the righteous by offering to Him a sweet-smelling savour, a reasonable and bloodless offering.[51] There is also an angel who intercedes for the nation of Israel as a whole.[52] Here the angels are found exercising priestly functions.

The doctrine of the intercession of angels parallels that of men. They are righteous beings in close relationship to God and with easy access to His Presence. They not only present the requests of men before God, but both of their own accord[53] and at the solicitation of men[54] they themselves pray to God for them. Their intercession has chiefly to do with the forgiveness of sins, (on which is dependent man's entrance into heaven), but it includes other things as well.[55]

[49] Tob. 12:12,15; 3 Bar. 11:4. [50] 3 Bar. 11:9, 12:1-5, 14:2.
[51] T. Levi 3:5,6. [52] T. Levi 5:6,7.
[53] 1 En. 40:6, 104:1; T. Dan 6:2; A & E 9:3. [54] 1 En. 9:3-11, 99:3.
[55] Cf. 1 En. 47:2, 89:76, 99:3 where the angels pray that the righteous may be avenged on the wicked for the evil which they have suffered from them, and 1 En. 40:7 where the evil spirits accuse men before God.

The merits of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel are appealed to as reasons for granting the prayer of their children,[56] and the covenants made with their fathers as the reason for saving the Jews before the battle with Nicanor and his Syrian army.[57] The Jews are also urged by Baruch to pray diligently that the Mighty One may be reconciled to them, and not remember their sins but the rectitude of their fathers.[58] Although the righteous merits of the fathers of the Jewish race are assigned as reasons why God should be merciful to their descendants, there is never any thought of the fathers' merits offsetting the demerits of the children.

The most interesting literary figure in Judaism at the time of our Lord was the Alexandrian philosopher Philo.[59] In his voluminous works there are few references of any kind to intercession, but what there are are most important for the development of the Christian doctrine. He held the usual Jewish view about the intercession of angels[60] and the righteous fathers of the race. These latter, with souls now freed from their bodies, pray for their descendants, who obtain their favour by improving their own lives. God hears the fathers because they obeyed Him on earth.[61] Among these Moses is regarded as the great intercessor whose prayers are always answered by God.[62]

[56] Azar. 1:12. [57] 2 Macc. 8:14,15. [58] 2 Bar. 84:10.

[59] Cited according to the edition of L. Cohn and P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera Quae Supersunt*, Berlin, 1896-1915.

[60] De Somniis I.141. [61] De Exsecrationibus 166,167.

[62] De Migratione Abrahami 122; De Somniis I.143; De Vita Mosis II. 166. In De Vita Mosis II.187 Moses is spoken of as a king, lawgiver, priest, and prophet.

For the first time in Jewish literature we have the high priest prominently mentioned in connection with intercession. He is pictured not only as offering prayers and sacrifices for the Jewish race, as for his own family,[63] but also for the whole human race and the realm of nature.[64] He is conceived as belonging to two spheres, divine and human, having a nature superior to man, but inferior to God. Thus, standing on the border between the two, he is able to be an effective mediator between them.[65] This idea comes out again prominently in a famous passage about the Logos found in Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres Sit 205:

> And to the archangelic and most ancient Word, the Father Who begat the universe gave a special privilege, that he, standing on the border, should separate what is made from Him Who made it. And this same (Word) is a continual suppliant on behalf of the sick-at-heart mortal race to the Incorruptible One; and an ambassador of the Ruler to (His) subjects.

The Word here is both mediator and intercessor and his intercession is continual and effective because he belongs to the spheres both of the divine and the human.

The Logos is several times identified with the high priest[66] in allegorical exegesis, and once with the Levite (in reference to Num. 3:12), who fled to God and became His suppliant.[67] In another place the two

[63] De Sacerdotibus 113; De Specialibus Legibus III.131.
[64] De Vita Mosis II.133; De Sacerdotibus 97.
[65] De Somniis II.189,231; De Sacerdotibus 116.
[66] De Migratione Abrahami 102; De Fuga et Inventione 108.
[67] De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini 119.

temples of God are mentioned. The first is the universe and the high priest is God's first born Son, the divine Word. The second is the rational soul and the priest is the true man.[68] The high priest is here the mediator between the two worlds of thought and sense. There is in these passages an almost exact verbal, even if not theological, correspondence with the Christian doctrine of intercession.

A curious variation of this identification occurs in De Vita Mosis II.134 where the high priest has as his paraclete for the forgiveness of sins and the bestowal of exceedingly bountiful good things the Son of the Father, the Word, the most perfect being in virtue.

When we turn to the rabbinic teaching, it is difficult to know how much of it was prevalent in the New Testament times, as all of the treatises are much later than that period. The rabbis firmly believed in and taught intercessory prayer. They even considered it a sin not to pray for others when it lay within one's power.[69] Moses was regarded as the great intercessor and everything which he asked was granted because of his peculiar merit.[70] The patriarchs are also frequently mentioned as intercessors,[71] and God advises Israel to appeal to their merits in order to gain their

[68] De Somniis I.215. [69] Berakhoth 12b.

[70] Berakhoth 10b, 32a; Sotah 14a; Shemoth Rabba 43. Gideon is also found pleading for Israel (Tanchuma Shophetim 4).

[71] Bereshith Rabba 39; Shemoth Rabba 44.1; Pesikta Rabbathi 13b. And particularly of the righteous patriarchs in heaven for their descendants (Shabbath 89b).

prayer, for He has great love for them and regard for their merits.[72]

The righteous are considered to have power to ward off the wrath of God from others,[73] and their suffering or death was considered to atone for the sins of the people,[74] or if there were no righteous, then that of innocent children was equally effective.[75]

The angels in heaven were conceived as pleading for men[76] and mediating their prayers to God.[77] There is a tradition found several times of an angel set over the prayers of men who waits until all the synagogues have prayed, and then forms their prayers into a crown and places it on the head of God.[78]

Every nation has its guardian angel who pleads its cause before God.[79] So do the angels of Israel, and particularly Michael, prince of the angels and guardian of Israel, who acts as their representative, patron, advocate, and intercessor before God.[80] Michael is also the heavenly high priest who offers up a sacrifice on the altar in the fourth heaven.[81] But on the other hand there is R. Judan who taught that men should pray directly to God and He would answer them, and that they should not cry unto Michael or Gabriel.[82]

[72] Pesikta 153b; Wayyikra Rabba 29:7; Berakhoth 10b,32a; Sotah 14a; Shabbath 30a; Tanchuma Wayyera 6,9.
[73] Sanhedrin 103a; Wayyikra Rabba 2; Pesikta 154a.
[74] Sanhedrin 39a; Pesikta 174b. [75] Shabbath 33ab.
[76] Sotah 12b. [77] Shabbath 12b; Sotah 33a; Shemoth Rabba 21.
[78] Shemoth Rabba 21; Midr. Ps. 19:7, 88:2.
[79] Targ. Ps.-Jon. to Gen. 11:7,8. [80] Targ. to Cant. 8:9.
[81] Chagigah 12b; Menakhoth 110a; Zebachim 62a; Midr. Ps. 134:1.
[82] Jer. Berakhoth 13a.

The rabbis believed that there was a temple in heaven, with its altar, sacrifices, and priests, after which the earthly Temple and its worship were patterned.[83] Prayer was regarded in a metaphorical way as incense,[84] or the equivalent of sacrifice,[85] and it was believed that the sacrifice of praise and rendering of thanks would continue on when all other sacrifices cease.[86]

Three of the divine beings of later Judaism who were mediatory between God and the world are found as intercessors. The Memra intercedes for Israel with God.[87] So also the Metatron is an advocate and intercessor for Israel before God, and he intercedes for Moses at his request.[88] The Holy Spirit is depicted once as enumerating, in the Presence of God, the merits of the Israelites.[89]

The Jews accordingly believed in the efficacy of the earthly intercession of men, particularly of the prophets and the righteous. Similarly they believed in the heavenly intercession of angels and of the righteous patriarchs. Because of their doctrine of merits, they believed that it was efficacious to use the names of these righteous in prayer. Philo and the later rabbis had a doctrine of intercession offered by divine beings in close relationship both to God and to men. The

[83] Bereshith Rabba 55,69; Pesikta Rabbathi 40.
[84] Bemidbar Rabba 13.
[85] Pesikta 165b; Siphre Deut. 41.
[86] Wayyikra Rabba 9,27; Pesikta 79a; Midr. Ps. 56:4, 100:4.
[87] Targ. Jon. to Jer. 29:14.
[88] Tanchuma Waethchanan 6.
[89] Wayyikra Rabba 6.

Jews, however, did not attribute the function of intercessor to the Messiah. Christianity took over many of these beliefs, and it will be seen that Judaism contains all the elements out of which the Christian doctrine of the heavenly intercession of our Lord was formed.[90]

[90] It was not a prevalent conception in the Hellenism of the New Testament period and there are religions where it is not found to any great extent. In some of the Indian and Chinese religions intercession is strictly forbidden, and in Mohammedanism where it occurs, it is an outgrowth of Judaism and Christianity.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW TESTAMENT

1. The Synoptic Gospels

In considering the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord in the New Testament it will be well to start with His own words as found in the Synoptic Gospels. It is abundantly evident that He not only believed in prayer,[1] but also practised it like any devout Jew.[2] It is plain also that He believed in intercessory prayer. He tells His disciples in the Sermon on the Mount to pray for those who persecute them.[3] Their intercessions were to include their enemies. This advice was often repeated in early Christian literature and its practice abounded not only in the prayers of the communities themselves, but among the martyrs as well. Our Lord Himself prayed for His enemies from the Cross: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."[4]

[1] Matt. 5:44, 6:5-13, 7:7-12, 9:38, 18:19, 21:22, 24:20, 26:41; Mark 9:29, 11:24,25, 13:18,33; Luke 6:28, 10:2, 11:2-13, 18:1-14.

[2] Matt. 14:23, 26:36,39,42,44; Mark 1:35, 6:46, 14:32,35,36,39; Luke 3:21, 5:16, 6:12, 9:18,28,29, 11:1, 22:32,41-46, 23:34.

[3] Matt. 5:44 = Luke 6:28.

[4] Luke 23:34. There is some doubt as to whether this saying formed a part of the original Gospel written by St. Luke, due to its omission by ℵ* B D* W Θ a b syr^{sin} sah boh, but there is no reason to doubt its being a genuine saying of our Lord, as the final words of both St. Stephen and St.

Our Lord also prayed for His disciples. In opposition to Satan, who had obtained permission from God to try St. Peter as he had previously Job, our Lord prays that his faith should not fail.[5] If Christ be the vinedresser of the parable of the fig tree,[6] He is there pictured as interceding with God (the owner) that He would not destroy the Jewish nation (the fig tree) without one more chance. Also little children were brought to him that He might lay His hands upon them and pray for them.[7]

He taught His disciples furthermore to pray for objects as well as for men. "Pray therefore the Lord of the harvest, that He will send forth labourers into His harvest."[8] Besides, the prayer which He Himself taught them is intercessory, in that it is worded throughout in the plural and is directed towards objects other than those exclusively having to do with the petitioners.[9]

Our Lord shared the belief in guardian angels,[10] which implies in all probability that He believed that they made intercession to God for men, as this was a current belief in the Judaism of the time. From the parable of Dives and Lazarus[11] one would assume that our Lord believed in the invocation of the righteous patriarchs and their ability to help men when so ad-

James the Just are based upon it. The fact that it is quoted by St. Irenaeus, Origen, St. Basil, and St. Hilary shows that at a period previous to or contemporaneous with the earliest known New Testament manuscripts the saying was regarded as authentic.

[5] Luke 22:31,32. [6] Luke 13:6-9. [7] Matt. 19:13.
[8] Matt. 9:38 = Luke 10:2. [9] Matt. 6:9-13 = Luke 11:2-4.
[10] Matt. 18:10. [11] Luke 16:19-31.

dressed. Nothing, however, is mentioned as to their interceding with God for men, although this may be implicit in the other. Some of the crowd standing around the Cross misunderstood our Lord's calling upon God as an appeal to Elijah to come and help Him.[12] Both of these instances indicate the prevalence, at the beginning of the Christian era, of the practice of the invocation of the righteous fathers. They also seem to indicate their independent power to help men.

There are, however, only two sayings which have direct bearing on the heavenly intercession of our Lord. The first comes from Q, written most probably in Antioch around 50,[13] and is found in slightly variant forms in the two Gospels:

Matt. 10:32,33: Whoever will acknowledge Me in the presence of men, I likewise shall acknowledge him in the Presence of My Father in heaven; but whoever denies Me in the presence of men, I likewise shall deny him in the Presence of My Father in heaven.

Luke 12:8,9: And I say to you, Whoever acknowledges Me in the presence of men, the Son of Man also will acknowledge him in the presence of the angels of God; but who denies Me in the presence of men will be denied in the presence of the angels of God.

There are some scholars who think that this Q saying is parallel to a Marcan logion found in varying form in the other two Synoptic Gospels (Matt. 16:27

[12] Matt. 27:46-49 = Mark 15:34-36.

[13] Q is taken to mean a Greek document about the life of our Lord, containing some narrative as well as discourse, which was used by the authors of the First and Third Gospels in compiling their works. It is not confined to passages which are found only in both Gospels.

= Mark 8:38 = Luke 9:26): "For whoever is ashamed of Me and My words in this adulterous and sinful generation, the Son of man also will be ashamed of him when He comes in the glory of His Father with the holy angels." It is true that both sayings have reference to the fate of those who deny Jesus before men, but there their resemblance ends, for in wording, setting, and point of view the two are utterly dissimilar.

But the question still remains, would our Lord have made two utterances on the same subject, in one of which He pictures Himself as Intercessor in heaven and in the other as Judge upon the earth. Most scholars think not, and believe that an original saying has been coloured by passing through two different channels of transmission with their divergent points of view, but they hold that the Q version is the more authentic. This assumption is based on the fact that throughout Q it is only God, and never Christ, Who is pictured as Judge, and this undoubtedly reflects the more primitive belief. Secondly, the Aramaicism ὁμολογεῖν ἐν = בְּ הוֹדָיָה attests both the early character of the saying and its Aramaic origin. Also possible echoes of the saying in this form are to be found throughout the rest of the New Testament[14] and frequently in early Christian literature.

As the Marcan version has nothing to do with intercession we may now leave it out of consideration

[14] John 9:22, 12:42; Acts 3:13,14; Rom. 10:9,10; 1 Tim. 6:12; 2 Tim. 2:12; 2 Pet. 2:1; 1 John 2:22,23, 4:2,3,15; Jude 1:4; Rev. 3:5,8.

and turn to the Q logion. It consists of two pairs of antithetical clauses, worded slightly differently in the two accounts. The First Gospel preserves the original wording and the Third Gospel the more original setting.[15] In any event it must be placed towards the end of our Lord's life and after the confession of His Messiahship by His disciples near Caesarea Philippi.

The passage has to do with the heavenly activity of our Lord before the throne of God. It does not involve any pleading on behalf of sinful men, but the simple declaration of who are and who are not His disciples. As a result of this declaration men are, or are not, admitted to the Kingdom of heaven by the Father.[16] His office is primarily a judicial one. It is the earliest passage in the New Testament where the Lord manifests any future care or interest in His disciples. From this passage, which only in a very large sense can be called intercessory, was to develop a belief not only in the intervention of our Lord for His disciples at the time of judgment, but also in the time before that increasingly far-off event.[17]

[15] For a full discussion of these verses, see Appendix D.

[16] In the discourse following on the Last Supper (Luke 22:29,30) our Lord is recorded as saying that He will appoint unto His disciples a Kingdom as His Father has for Him and they shall judge the twelve tribes of Israel as rulers over them. Here our Lord is pictured as the Head of the Kingdom and having authority over the entrance into it and its regulation. This comes from L and reflects a different point of view from the Q saying, for in Q Christ as a rule occupies a subordinate rather than an independent position.

[17] It is worth noting that in Luke 21:15 (from L) our Lord appears as the heavenly Helper of His disciples, giving them speech and wisdom

The other important saying of our Lord having to do with intercession is found in Matt. 18:19,20. There He tells His disciples that where two or three of them are gathered together in Christian worship and praying in common for anything, His heavenly Father will grant it, because He Himself is in the midst of any Christian gathering.[18] It is God to Whom the prayer is addressed and Who answers it, but the reason why the request is granted is due to Christ's Presence among His disciples. This continual Presence of Christ with His followers is mentioned again in the closing words of the Gospel.[19]

It is an instance of silent intercession. God answers the prayers of Christ's own followers as if they were

which none of their enemies can gainsay. This view is not found in the Matthean and Marcan parallels (Matt. 10:20 = Mark 13:11). This passage and Matt. 28:20 are important because they are the only ones in the Synoptic Gospels where any heavenly activity of help to His disciples is attributed to our Lord before His return to earth in glory. The others merely mention His session at the right hand of the Father. In the spurious ending of St. Mark, however, mention is made of our Lord at the right hand of the Father working with the disciples as they go everywhere proclaiming the gospel, and confirming their preaching with accompanying miracles (Mark 16:19,20).

[18] The interpretation of this passage depends upon the precise meaning to be attached to γάρ. It is true that in the First Gospel it is often used loosely, uniting disparate utterances which do not go closely together (Matt. 5:46, 6:14,32, 8:9, 25:14). But on the other hand in the large majority of instances it is found used in the usual classical as well as Hellenistic way, introducing a reason for or explanation of a preceding statement (Matt. 1:21, 7:2, 13:17, 26:43, 28:6). And it is this causal sense which is demanded here, for otherwise Matt. 18:20 is without any point, but when γάρ is taken in this sense it provides a reasonable explanation of why the answer to the prayer is dependent upon two agreeing together.

[19] Matt. 28:20.

His prayers, for He is always present with them when they pray. Our Lord Himself is not spoken of as praying for them or even transmitting their prayers to God. The mere fact that the prayers come from a place where He is and from those who are His disciples is enough to obtain their request. The point of view is the same as that found in the Fourth Gospel,[20] and is one of the many striking instances of the close relationship existing between the material peculiar to St. Matthew and that Gospel.

Apparently in both these Gospels the authors thought of the continuing Presence of Christ with His Church as taking place through the Spirit, although this is not brought out here. There is some similarity to two passages in the Pirke Aboth.[21] In any case this passage belongs to the later gospel strata and its genuineness as a saying of our Lord is not above suspicion. Nevertheless it reflects a very early belief of the Christian community.

The Synoptic Gospels contain no references to intercession apart from the words of our Lord. They show that our Lord greatly believed in prayer and practised it, and that while on earth He prayed for the strengthening of the faith of His disciples. He was believed to have said that the prayers of His disciples would be heard because He was present with them, and that those who remain faithful disciples of His

[20] John 14:13,14, 15:16, 16:23,24,26. [21] Aboth 3:2,6.

would be admitted to the Kingdom of heaven by His Father on His naming them as His disciples.

But our Lord never refers to His High Priesthood, nor does He refer to prayer as a sacrifice, nor to His mediation of prayer, nor to men praying to Him, nor does He promise to intercede for them in heaven. He taught men to pray directly to the Father with the confidence that they will be heard if it is in accordance with God's will, and if the one who prays does so in faith and penitent humility.[22] In other words, the granting of prayer in our Lord's view was morally conditioned. The doctrine of the heavenly High Priesthood of our Lord and His offering of prayer and praying for men in heaven did not arise out of any recorded sayings or teachings of His. It is a product of the second generation of Christians.

Sometime, however, between the death of Christ, around A.D. 30, and St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, around A.D. 56, the belief in the intercessory activity of our Lord arose in the Christian community. Exactly how or when or where is unknown, but it is easy enough to see, with the early Christian Jewish background of belief in the heavenly intercession of the righteous, that such a view was almost inevitable in the case of One Who was believed to be not only a heavenly Being, but the Son of God Himself.

There were any number of beliefs in regard to our Lord which would predispose Christians to such a

[22] Matt. 21:22 = Mark 11:24,25; Matt. 7:7-11 = Luke 11:9-13.

view. First of all, our Lord was looked upon as a Prophet,[23] and it has been seen in the Old Testament and elsewhere that intercession was considered one of the prophetical functions, and the intercessions of prophets were regarded as almost certain to be granted by God. Consequently it was natural for men to think of our Lord as fulfilling this prophetic function, and to turn to Him with their requests to God as they had to the ancient prophets.

Furthermore Moses, the first of the prophets, was regarded as the great intercessor with God, both while on earth and after he had gone to heaven. And Moses was taken by early Christians as a prefigurer or type of our Lord.[24] Hence there would be the natural transference of this function of intercessor to our Lord as well.

Those who lived righteous lives were considered to have a special claim on God's favour and to be heard by Him in their requests. This was particularly true of those who had been martyred for their faith. Our Lord was held to be not only a righteous, but also a sinless Man, and He endured a martyr's death, and consequently both these facts would make it natural to think of Him as an Intercessor.

Angels were believed to intercede for men, and our Lord was regarded as superior to the angels,[25]

[23] Matt. 16:14, 21:11,46; Mark 6:15, 8:28; Luke 7:16,39, 9:8,19, 24:19; John 4:19, 6:14, 7:40, 9:17; Acts 3:22, 7:37.

[24] Acts 7:20-44; 2 Cor. 3:7-18; Heb. 3:2-6; Rev. 15:3.

[25] Heb. 1:4.

they being subject unto Him,[26] and hence His intercession was more effective than theirs. Michael the guardian angel of Israel was looked upon as their great intercessor with the Father. So also our Lord as the King of the true Israel, that is, the Messianic Kingdom of Christians, might naturally be looked upon to exercise this office, not only as taking over the functions of Michael, but also those of the ancient kings of Israel.

Our Lord was regarded also as being the Suffering Servant[27] predicted in Isaiah and this Servant is pictured as being an intercessor for sins.[28] Above all, Christ was the Son of God, and as such standing in a unique and special relationship to the Father, in which His requests would be instantly heard and granted.

There is no direct evidence that any one of these lines of thought led men to think of our Lord as Intercessor for them with the Father. What evidence there is, in some cases goes to show that the idea of intercession was never consciously brought into connection with that particular way of lookkng at our Lord, especially the conception of Him as the Suffering Servant. However, such a large number of parallels between our Lord and those looked upon as intercessors in Judaism cannot fail to have had some effect in originating the Christian doctrine.

[26] 1 Pet. 3:22.
[27] Matt. 8:17, 12:18-21; Luke 22:37; Acts 3:13, 8:32,33; 1 Pet. 2:22-25.
[28] Isa. 53:12.

2. The Epistles of St. Paul

St. Paul was a great believer in intercessory prayer and it is undoubtedly due to him that it occupied so prominent a place in the early Church. Not only did he himself pray and offer thanksgiving to God for others,[29] but he also asks others to pray for him, or mentions that they have done so;[30] and records the fact of various people praying on behalf of others.[31]

It has been much debated, however, whether St. Paul had any real doctrine of the intercession of our Lord in heaven, and as to whether such a belief was prevalent in the Church as early as his time. It has been seen already how prevalent the idea of intercession was in Judaism and there is good reason for thinking that our Lord taught something about His intervention with His Father on behalf of His followers. It would not be improbable, therefore, to find some such belief in St. Paul. Those who do find one rely chiefly on Rom. 8:34, which was written almost certainly in Corinth in the year 56.

The theme of the eighth chapter of Romans is the certainty of salvation. In it St. Paul continues his explanation of the results of justification in human character. What the law could not do, Christ has done through His indwelling Spirit. For the state of sin as

[29] Rom. 1:8,10, 10:1; Eph. 1:16; Phil. 1:3,4,9; Col. 1:3,9; 1 Thess. 1:2, 2 Thess. 1:3,11, 2:13; Philem. 1:4. Once he curses those who do not love the Lord (1 Cor. 16:22).

[30] Rom. 15:30; 2 Cor. 1:11; Phil. 1:19; Col. 4:3; 1 Thess. 5:25; 2 Thess. 3:1; Philem. 1:22. [31] 2 Cor. 9:14; Eph. 5:20; Col. 4:12.

represented by the flesh is opposed to that of the Spirit, and they have nothing in common. So one who possesses the Spirit should live in accordance with His promptings as an heir of eternal life, which is guaranteed by this possession (Rom. 8:1-17). The life of righteousness entails sufferings here, but they are nothing in comparison with the glory to be revealed. Nature as well is going through a similar process of suffering (Rom. 8:18-25).

But because we are still hindered by the flesh of which we are only potentially rid, and do not know how to pray as we should, the Spirit communicates with God for us, making our inarticulate longings plain unto the Father. For the Father understands what the Spirit says, for He makes His petition in accordance with the will of the Father. And in the end all this suffering which now bewilders men will turn out for good in accordance with God's providence (Rom. 8:26-30).

God is on the side of the Christian. He allowed His own Son to suffer and then gave Him all things. So will He also do to the true Christians after their sufferings. With God acquitting men of sin, there is no one to condemn them. With Christ pleading for men before God, there is no one to plead against them. Nothing can separate men from the love of God or of Christ (Rom. 8:31-39).

In the midst of this chapter comes Rom. 8:26,27, the only place in the whole Bible or Apostolic Fathers

where the intervention of the Spirit is mentioned.[32] But this intervention is unlike that of any other heavenly Being. Technically it is not intercession at all. The indwelling Spirit in every Christian frames and composes their prayers for them. He is here the Inspirer of their prayer life, as He is elsewhere in

[32] The word used in Rom. 8:26 *ὑπερεντυγχάνειν* is a formation of St. Paul in place of the usual *ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπέρ τινος* and is not found again until St. Clement of Alexandria. The word *ἐντυγχάνειν* itself which occurs in Rom. 8:27 is found more frequently. In classical Greek *ἐντυγχάνειν* means first of all "to meet someone by chance" (Hdt. I.134); then "to converse with someone" (Plato Apol. 41B); and then in later Greek "to intercede with someone," "to intreat" (Polyb. IV.76.9; Plut. Cato Ma. 9; Pomp. 55; Ages. 25). In this sense of "to intreat" or "to plead with someone on behalf of oneself" it is found several times in the Septuagint (Wisd. of Sol. 8:21, 16:28; 3 Macc. 6:37). It occurs with the meaning "to plead against" or "to complain about someone else to someone" in 1 Macc. 8:32, 10:61,63,64, 11:25; 2 Macc. 4:36. In Dan. 6:12 it means "to converse with" and in 2 Macc. 2:25, 6:12, 15:39 it means "to read," a sense which is found elsewhere in later Greek (Polyb. I.3.10). The noun *ἔντευξις* occurs once (2 Macc. 4:8) with the meaning "conversation" and *ἐντυχία* (3 Macc. 6:40) meaning "a request on behalf of oneself." Neither the verb nor the nouns are found in Philo. In the papyri *ἐντυγχάνειν* is frequently found with the meaning "to petition" or "to appeal to the king or others in authority" (P. Tebt. I.58.43,183; II.297.9) It is also found meaning "to meet" (Michel 308.18; P. Fay. 137.3); with *κατά* "to complain" (P. Giss. I.36.15); and with *περί* "to petition concerning" (PSI IV.340.5, 410.14). It is not found used in the religious sense of "to intercede" until the second or third century A.D. (BGU I.246.12). Ἔντευξις occurs with the meanings "request" or "petition" (P. Paris 26.5; P. Amh. II.33.22; P. Fay. 12.26; P. Flor. I.55.18) and *ἐντυχία* with the meaning "petition" (P. Lond. 44.26). Neither in classical nor in Hellenistic Greek does any special sense of the intercession of heavenly beings with God on behalf of men attach to the verb or its cognate nouns. In fact, in the Septuagint they are only used of men and never then of one man pleading on behalf of another. In the New Testament in Acts 25:24 the verb is used in the sense of men pleading against or accusing a fellow man before the civil authority. In Rom. 11:2 it is used of Elijah accusing

St. Paul.[33] The prayer is really that of the Christian, but as composed by the Spirit, Who formulates the vague desires of the Christian in whom He dwells into a definite prayer before God, it is also the prayer or pleading or intercession of the Spirit. The Spirit does not plead that man's prayer should be accepted by God, rather He composes a prayer for man that is acceptable to God.[34] The whole universe is longing for redemption, so also is man, and the Spirit interprets these longings of man to God. By composing them into an articulate prayer for men, the Spirit may be said in one sense to entreat for them. This passage is similar in many ways to the conception of the Spirit as the Paraclete in the Fourth Gospel. He appears here

Israel before God. The other passages (Rom. 8:34; Heb. 7:25) call for discussion later. The noun ἔντευξις occurs in 1 Tim. 2:1, 4:5 with the ordinary meaning of "prayer." Even in the Apostolic Fathers we never find either the verb or the noun used in reference to the intercession of our Lord. The references occur almost entirely in the Shepherd of Hermas. Ἐντυγχάνειν is found with the meanings "to pray for oneself" (H. Man. 10:3:2); "to pray on behalf of others" (Pol. Phil. 4:3), especially of the poor interceding for the rich with God (H. Sim. 2:6,8); "to intercede for sinners" (1 Clem. 56:1); "to plead with a man" (Mar. Pol. 17:2); and "to read" (Diog. 12:1). Ἔντευξις is used as "entreaty" (1 Clem. 63:2; 2 Clem. 19:1); "prayer" (H. Man. 10:3:2,3,3,3,3, 11:9,14); "intercession" of the poor (H. Sim. 2:5,5,5,6,7), of the Holy Angel (H. Sim. 5:4:4), and of courage (H. Man. 5:1:6). It is therefore evident that even in early Christian usage no special technical sense attaches to the word and its cognates.

[33] Rom. 8:15; Gal. 4:6; Eph. 6:18.

[34] Some have taken the reference here to be to glossolalia, particularly as Romans was in all probability composed in Corinth where it was so common. But the very fact that the groanings can not be uttered speaks against this.

as the Helper of men, but not as a legal advocate any more than He does there.

Finally, in Rom. 8:34, we read: "Who is it who will condemn? Shall Christ Jesus Who died, yea rather was raised up, Who is at the right hand of God, Who also intercedes for us?" This has every appearance of an early credal statement. The session of Christ at the right hand of God is among the earliest and most frequently mentioned of all the beliefs about Him.[35] But this is the only passage where anything is said as to His intercession while there.[36]

The phrase ὃς καὶ ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν appears from the καί to be an addition of St. Paul to a traditional statement of belief about Christ. There is no reason to suppose that he would add such a clause to so well known a statement of belief unless he himself held that intercession was one of the heavenly activities of the Lord exalted to the right hand of God. Certainly it was the belief a few decades later of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[37]

[35] Matt. 22:44, 26:64; Mark 12:36, 14:62, 16:19; Luke 20:42, 22:69; Acts 2:33,34, 5:31, 7:55,56; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3,13, 8:1, 10:12, 12:2; 1 Pet. 3:22; 1 Clem. 36:5; Pol. Phil. 2:1; Barn. 12:10; Just. 1 Apol. 45:2; Dial. 32:3,6, 36:5, 56:14, 83:1,2, 127:5.

[36] Very seldom is any activity mentioned in connection with our Lord's session; the few passages having to do with all things being subject to Him (Eph. 1:20-23; Heb. 10:13; 1 Pet. 3:22; 1 Clem. 36:5; Pol. Phil. 2:1; Barn. 12:10; Just. 1 Apol. 45:2; Dial. 32:3,6, 36:5, 56:14, 83:1,2, 127:5); His sending of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:33); His working with His disciples after the Resurrection and confirming their preaching with miracles (Mark 16:20); His being High Priest (Heb. 8:1, 10:12); and His coming again to earth (Matt. 26:64; Mark 14:62; Pol. Phil. 2:1) as we have it in the Creed.

[37] Heb. 8:1.

The subject of the intercession is not indicated, but from the context ("lay charges" and "condemn"), the most probable inference is that it is in regard to sins, the oldest and commonest subject of intercession. When any one attempts to bring a charge or condemnation of sin against a Christian, who is already acquitted before God and accounted righteous, Christ pleads before God, not for his forgiveness, but that he has been and is forgiven.

In St. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith, the acquittal of men's sins came automatically at their identification with Christ in baptism, and hence there is no need for Him to pray for their forgiveness. Whenever an attempt is made to have a Christian rejected from his state of salvation, Christ is there to bring before God his acquittal, as being one with Himself. The Presence in heaven of Christ, with Whom are united in one body all the baptized, is of itself a continual intercession with God on their behalf, that is, a reminder to Him of their salvation.[38]

[38] There are some who interpret this passage differently. They take "Who is at the right hand of God" as the natural complement of the preceding phrase about being raised from the dead, but with no connection with the following. Christ is in heaven at God's right hand, but He is also in the hearts of believers and there He pleads for them by forming their prayers. This verse to them has the same meaning as Rom. 8:26,27 and is another instance of the same activity being attributed one time to the indwelling Spirit and another time to the indwelling Christ. The passage means according to this interpretation no more than prayer inspired by Christ. But there are two serious objections to this view. First the natural location of the intercession would be in heaven as noth-

We must now see if there are any other passages in St. Paul which indicate such a belief on his part. This brings up the question as to what he means when he speaks of prayer or thanksgiving offered to God through Jesus Christ. And this involves his use of διά with a personal genitive. A careful survey of the evidence[39] does not permit one to come to any decisive conclusion, as St. Paul uses the personal genitive in both an instrumental and an instrumental causal sense, but the preponderance of other factors makes it more probable that St. Paul did believe that prayer was mediated to the Father by Christ rather than that the indwelling Christ was the inspiration of the prayers of men. This latter function is attributed by him to the Spirit.[40]

The use of the phrase διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ in connection with prayer first occurs in St. Paul and is not

ing is said of any change of scene. The second is that the phrase interpreted as Christ-inspired prayer has no real meaning or connection with the passage. In the passage there are three questions in a row introduced by τίς each of which is followed by an answer couched in the form of a question expecting a negative answer. St. Paul is showing how absurd it is to think that anything can deprive the Christians of salvation, particularly with both God and Christ on their side. Consequently a contrast is needed with "condemn" and this is found in "intercede." Christ's pleading for men shows how foolish it is to think that any one can plead against them. But to interpret it in the sense of Christ's inspiring their prayers would lose the whole force of the contrast, and turn what is now a climax of thought into an anticlimax. Furthermore, the above argument would still hold true even if the passage were punctuated differently.

[39] See Appendix E. [40] Rom. 8:26,27; Gal. 4:6; Eph. 6:18.

to be explained by any reference to Hebrew or even to Septuagint usage. This may partly be due to the fact of Semitic idiom, for they have no distinctive means of expressing διά, the usual way being בְּ, which would more naturally be taken as ἐν. Consequently we find the Syriac translators at a later date using as a general rule בִּידָ בְּעֵמַד מִן in order to make their meaning clear. However, parallel instances of such a usage in Greek religions are not forthcoming and the concept must therefore have originated among Greek-speaking Christians.

This mediation of prayer through Jesus Christ in Rom. 1:8, 7:25, 16:27; Col. 3:17 is not the same sort of intercession as that of Rom. 8:34. There it is a constant reminder to the Father of those who are saved. Here it is a presentation to Him of the prayers offered by Christians. In neither case is it connected with any doctrine of High Priesthood. It is nothing but the old Jewish doctrines of the intercession of the righteous fathers of the Jewish race, transferred to the righteous Founder of the Christian race, and of the mediation of prayer to God by heavenly beings. There is no mention of Christ's praying for men in heaven; it is purely a mediatorial intercession. Since in Jewish literature it is only the angels and never the patriarchs who are thought of as mediating men's prayers to God, this fits in well with St. Paul's conception of our Lord as a divine Being to Whom the other heavenly powers

were subject, but Who nevertheless possessed many of their mediatorial functions.[41]

In St. Paul we have some of the earliest recorded instances of prayers to our Lord. In 2 Cor. 12:8,9 he relates how, because of the exceeding greatness of the revelations vouchsafed to him, he was given a thorn in the flesh to keep him humble, and that three times he besought the Lord that it should depart from him, and the Lord told him that His grace was sufficient for him to bear it. That "Lord" here refers to Christ is shown clearly by the two following verses and St. Paul's common usage of the term as such when not quoting the Old Testament. There is nothing in the passage to indicate that it is Christ's intercession with the Father for which he is praying. It is a direct appeal to Christ for aid and a direct answer from Him to that appeal. Christ the great Physician is appealed to for healing after His exaltation as well as before. He has independent power to hear and to answer prayer.

[41] In Eph. 5:19,20 St. Paul exhorts his readers at their assemblies not to get drunk at their common meals, but to be filled instead with the enthusiasm of the Spirit, in Whose inspiration they are to sing unto the Lord and always give thanks unto the Father in behalf of all of them for the benefits which they have received as Christians. The phrase "in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ" refers in all probability to the use of our Lord's Name in prayer. It without doubt means that by so doing they acknowledge themselves as Christians and as such are thankful for the benefits which they have received through Him. It may also possibly refer to the use of our Lord's Name in reference to His mediatorial capacity of presenting the prayers and thanksgiving of men to the Father and thus imparting to them greater significance in the eyes of God (cf. Rom. 1:8, 7:25, 16:27; Col. 3:17).

At the close of the First Epistle to the Corinthians[42] comes what was apparently a common early ejaculatory prayer addressed to Christ,[43] voicing the community's hope of His early return to earth to set up His Kingdom: *μαρανὰ θά*, which represents the Aramaic מָרָנָא תָא, "O Lord, come," and is in all probability the oldest prayer addressed to our Lord. Some, however, read it as a declarative sentence, while others believe that it represents entirely different Aramaic expressions, but both on insufficient grounds.[44]

Some scholars feel because there are so few real references to intercession in the Pauline Epistles that it really has no place in the Pauline theology. But they fail to take into consideration the fact that St. Paul was not writing treatises on prayer; that his Epistles are full of unique statements[45] and the sur-

[42] 1 Cor. 16:22. [43] Rev. 22:20; Did. 10:6.

[44] In Rom. 10:12-14 (which quotes Joel 2:32) and 1 Cor. 1:2 reference is made to all those who call upon the Name of the Lord. The context of both passages refers this expression to belief, but the usage of the words elsewhere indicates that this belief is expressed in prayer addressed to the exalted Christ. 1 Cor. 6:11 should also be included here as it seems to mean that Christians are justified by acknowledging Christ as Lord and calling upon Him in prayer as such, and then being baptized and receiving the Holy Spirit. Throughout the Pauline Epistles our Lord is frequently mentioned in prayerful wishes along with the Father (Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2, 13:13; Gal. 1:3; Eph. 1:2, 6:23; Phil. 1:2; 1 Thess. 3:11; 2 Thess. 1:2, 2:16; Philem. 1:3), or separately (Rom. 16:20; 1 Cor. 16:23; Gal. 6:18; Phil. 4:23; 1 Thess. 5:28; 2 Thess. 3:18; Philem. 1:25). These show that our Lord was conceived as having the power to bestow spiritual gifts upon men, and also testify to the fact that prayers were addressed to Him. [45] Col. 3:13.

vival of community beliefs which do not fit in with his general scheme of things, such as his belief in charismatic gifts, which does not fit in well with his doctrine of the Spirit. The Eucharist appears in only one Epistle, and then not for any doctrinal reason, but because there happened to be abuses attending its celebration in the Corinthian community.

Consequently there is no good reason for not believing that St. Paul held that our Lord was in heaven transmitting the prayers of His disciples to the Father and intervening on their behalf whenever any one attacked them. There is, on the contrary, sufficient evidence that he did hold such beliefs. Both doctrines are thoroughly Jewish, and it is most natural to find our Lord as the Head of the Christian race assuming in the mind of St. Paul the heavenly functions both of the patriarchs and of the protecting angels, and both praying for His people and presenting their prayers to God.

It is barely possible, inasmuch as St. Paul's references to the doctrine of intercession occur solely in the Epistle to the Romans written to Rome and the Epistle to the Colossians written from Rome, that he may have acquired this belief from Christians such as Aquila and Priscilla[46] who had sojourned there. From the Epistle to the Hebrews we know the doctrine to have been current there some years later. That may possibly account for its prevalence in a document

[46] Acts 18:2,18; Rom. 16:3.

written to a community where the belief was known to be held. It is only fair to point out, however, that St. Paul nowhere betrays any trace of the idea of our Lord as High Priest.

3. The Epistle to the Hebrews

The Epistle to the Hebrews, a brief outline of Christian doctrine drawn up by an unknown teacher for his pupils when absent from them, contains some of the most important references to the intercession of our Lord in the New Testament. The author in all probability lived in Rome and wrote in the eighth decade of the first century. He conceived religion as worship, and to him this implied sacrifice. There could therefore be no access to God without sacrifice, and hence there must be a priest to offer it. He shows that the former covenant which God made with His people was a temporary and earthly one and the worship under it of like nature, but that now God has made a new covenant with His people of an eternal and heavenly nature, and Jesus Christ alone is Mediator of this new covenant,[47] and only through Him as High Priest and the sacrifice which He offers can men attain salvation.

The sacrifices offered by many priests at many times for the remission of sin under the old covenant were never really effective, but now Christ, the Great High Priest in heaven, has offered Himself once for all for

[47] Heb. 8:6, 9:15, 12:24.

the remission of men's sins,[48] and this sacrifice has been accepted by God. Christ is there in the Presence of God continually intervening with Him for His disciples.[49]

Christ is the sole Mediator between God and men, angels being merely the servants of God's will.[50] They have no mediatorial or intercessory functions in the view of this writer, nor has any other creature or person, but Christ alone. To the many priests and intercessors under the old covenant, there has succeeded the one true, perfect, and heavenly High Priest and Intercessor under the new.[51] But this does not keep the writer from requesting the prayers of those whom he addresses[52] nor from praying for them.[53] In this respect he conformed to the universal practice of the Church in regard to intercessory prayer. But these are merely the prayers of ordinary men, standing in no special relationship to God beyond the fact that they are all Christians, and hence with no reason for their prayers to be heard more than those of any other Christian.

In this Epistle for the first time in Christian literature we have our Lord pictured as High Priest.[54] The proof of His High Priesthood is found in Psalm 110, which is several times quoted throughout the Epistle,[55] and in addition there are frequent borrowings of its

[48] Heb. 2:17, 7:27. [49] Heb. 7:25. [50] Heb. 1:14.
[51] Heb. 7:12. [52] Heb. 13:18,19. [53] Heb. 13:20,21.
[54] Heb. 2:17, 3:1, 4:14,15, 5:5,6,10, 6:20, 7:11,15,17,21,24,26, 8:1,4, 9:11, 10:21. [55] Heb. 1:3, 5:6, 7:17,21.

phrases. Melchisedek was both king and priest,[56] and so also is Christ, He being a High Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.[57] This Psalm was regarded as Messianic in the time of our Lord, but the Jews took the king and the high priest to be separate personages. The Christians, however, took them to refer to the same Person, and combined the two offices as was done under the Maccabees. Out of the Jewish belief in a heavenly temple and ritual[58] and the interpretation of Psalm 110 as referring to Christ, the writer constructed his picture of the Great Messianic High Priest in heaven, offering continually one perpetual sacrifice for sins with its accompanying prayers.

Our Lord exercises His High Priestly function only in heaven.[59] He is merciful and faithful,[60] holy, guileless, undefiled, separated from sinners, made higher than the heavens,[61] perfected for evermore,[62] and possessed of an inviolable Priesthood.[63] He did not take this Priesthood upon Himself; it was conferred upon Him by God.[64] But unlike the Jewish high priests, He offered once for all only one sacrifice for sins, His own body, and afterwards sat down on the right hand of God,[65] for by this one offering He perfected for ever those who are sanctified.[66] He is not pictured

[56] Heb. 7:1. [57] Heb. 6:20.

[58] The earliest references to a heavenly temple, after which the Jerusalem Temple and its worship were supposed to be patterned, are to be found in Wisd. of Sol. 9:8; T. Levi 5:1.

[59] Heb. 4:14, 6:20, 9:11,24, 10:21. [60] Heb. 2:17, 3:2.

[61] Heb. 7:26. [62] Heb. 7:28. [63] Heb. 7:24.

[64] Heb. 5:5,6,10, 7:21. [65] Heb. 8:1, 10:12. [66] Heb. 10:14.

standing as a suppliant before the throne of God, but sitting upon it in the place of honour with Him.

Our Lord, Who is eternal, possesses an eternal Priesthood[67] in which He makes continual intercession for those who approach God through Him, and accordingly brings them to complete salvation.[68] Heb. 7:25 is the most important New Testament passage for the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord and it is the first time that His intercession is connected with the conception of Him as High Priest. It reads in the Greek: *ὅθεν καὶ σώζειν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς δύναται τοὺς προσερχομένους δι' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, πάντοτε ζῶν εἰς τὸ ἐντυγχάνειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν*, and may be translated: "Wherefore also He is always able to save those who approach God in prayer through Him, seeing that He is always living to intercede for them."

Our Lord is here described as the Way to God.[69] He is the Mediator of salvation through His eternal intervention. This intervention is an eternal purpose of Christ's existence. It is for the salvation of men: that is, forgiveness of their sins, their cleansing or sanctification, which would fit them to enter heaven. It is pictured as a soteriological intervention, not one for ordinary human desires or needs, nor yet a mediation of prayers.

In view of the fact, however, that the forgiveness of men's sins was obtained once for all by the sacrifice

[67] Heb. 5:6, 6:20, 7:17,21,24,28.
[68] Heb. 7:25. [69] Cf. John 10:9, 14:6.

of Christ upon the Cross,[70] this can not be an intervention for forgiveness of sins in that sense, for they are already forgiven. The benefits of Christ's passion were only for those who identified themselves with Him by becoming members of His Body, the Church. Forgiveness was obtained only by a confession of His Lordship and a baptism into His Name. For all others, Christ's saving death had no effect. Nor could the intervention be for post-baptismal sins, for there is no forgiveness for these.[71] Consequently this intervention must be a continual recalling to God of those who are members of the Church and have thus been forgiven. It is an application to the believers of the benefits of the one sacrifice. This passage in many ways is similar to the one in Q (Matt. 10:32,33 = Luke 12:8,9), and particularly the one in St. Paul (Rom. 8:34); it is only in its setting of the High Priesthood that it differs.

We have seen that the Jewish high priest offered prayers along with the sacrifices. Here our Lord as High Priest, along with His continual offering of the sacrifice of Himself once made, continually names to God those for whom the sacrifice is to apply, not as a humble suppliant pleading wailingly for His followers, but as One Who occupies the place of honour in heaven. But at the same time, this intercession must also be for present help, that is, that Christians may be spiritually strengthened in times of temptation and

[70] Heb. 9:28. [71] Heb. 6:4-6, 10:29, 12:17.

kept free from sin, and thus preserved in the state of salvation into which they have entered. Something of the idea which is expressed more fully in Heb. 4: 14-16 is found here as well.

In Heb. 9:24 it is said that Christ now appears in the Presence of God on behalf of Christians. He enters before God as a High Priest, with the sacrifice of Himself, which is effective once for all for the putting away of their sins. It seems probable that the writer here had intercession in mind as accompanying the sacrifice, although it is not explicitly stated. It has been seen that intercession is an extension of the atonement, its necessary complement, and the idea may very well be contained in the phrase "appear before God on our behalf."

In Heb. 4:14-16 the writer has in mind Christians faced with the natural temptation to deny their faith under persecution. But, at the same time, he reminds them that they have a High Priest Who was once here upon earth and knows what it is to be put to trial for one's faith, and yet never yielded. This One is now in heaven. For that reason they can pray[72] boldly to

[72] Προσέρχεσθαι is found in the Septuagint with the meanings of "drawing near to Yahweh with sacrifice" (Lev. 9:7, 21:17; Num. 18:3) or else of "approaching Him in prayer" (1 Sam 14:36; Ps. 34:4). In the New Testament it is found particularly in St. Matthew, the Lucan writings, and this Epistle with the meaning of "coming to someone and making a request." It is used also in 1 Clem. 23:1, 29:1 of approaching God in prayer. Prayer is the only way that Christians still on earth could approach God and consequently that must be meant here. This interpretation of Heb. 4:14-16 with Christ as Intercessor is confirmed by a similar

God[73] to have mercy on their weak condition and to send them the help which they need to resist the temptation to apostasy in time of persecution. The reasons why Christians may pray with such confidence to God is because they have in His Presence a sympathetic High Priest praying for them. This is the first New Testament passage in which we find our Lord interceding for something else besides forgiveness. Here He prays for spiritual strength.

The conception of Christ as the merciful High Priest helping men when they are tempted, because He Himself has suffered and was tempted, comes out again in Heb. 2:18. Here it has nothing to do with intercession, but with our Lord's direct imparting of spiritual strength to His followers.

In Heb. 13:15 the author exhorts his readers to offer up a sacrifice of praise continually to God through Jesus. This sacrifice of praise is described as a thankful

usage of the verb in Heb. 7:25. In this last passage those who pray to God through Christ have Him adding His intercession to theirs. In other words Christ prays along with all Christians. It is also very probable that in Heb. 10:22 the verb is used in the sense of drawing near to God in prayer and worship, particularly as "the Great Priest" is mentioned, and a "true heart in full assurance of faith." It is because of this High Priest that men can approach God in worship in the full assurance of faith.

[73] The exact phrase "throne of grace" (Heb. 4:16) is found nowhere else in the Bible, but the other uses of "throne" in the Epistle refer to the throne of God (Heb. 1:8, 8:1, 12:2) and there is little doubt that it refers to the throne of God here and not to that of Christ. The whole picture of the Epistle is that of Christ as Priest, that is, in a mediatorial capacity; and one of its main emphases is the free access to God which men have through Him under the new convenant.

acknowledgment of His sovereignty. As the Jews were to make their thank-offerings through the priests,[74] so also were the Christians through their Great High Priest. The high priest, as has been seen in Judaism, offers prayers as well as sacrifices to God. There prayer was regarded metaphorically as a sacrifice, and the metaphorical sense of sacrifice here is proven by the next verse.[75] Instead of the material sacrifices of the old covenant, our Lord offers the spiritual sacrifice of prayer. He is thus pictured as mediating the prayers of His disciples to God. It is the instrumental sense alone of διά that fits in with the context.

Heb. 13:20,21 contains one of the earliest Christian prayers. This is composed in what has come to be the traditional collect form. It ends with διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ and an ascription of praise, to whom addressed, it is difficult to tell. It is in close contextual and grammatical relation with Christ, but the writer's usage elsewhere and the fact that the prayer itself is addressed to God cause some hesitation in the matter. If it is addressed to Christ, it fits in with the divine honours assigned to Him in the Epistle and the worship which we know from other sources to have been His. It does not indicate that prayer was addressed to Christ, but that He was an Object of divine worship.

The phrase "through Jesus Christ" is taken by some to mean that God effects His will in men through the indwelling Christ, but the writer has no such con-

[74] Lev. 7:11-21. [75] Heb. 13:16.

ception of Christ. We are therefore led to conclude that from the very first an ellipsis often existed in the use of this phrase, and the hearers were meant to supply some such expression as: "And this we ask." The Great High Priest is then requested to present the prayers of His people to God. This is accordingly the first example of what has come to be the most common ending of all Christian prayer.

There are many points of contact in this Epistle with Philo's doctrine of the Logos-High Priest belonging to both spheres, divine and human, and acting as the mediator between them, and in particular making known the requests of men to God. On other grounds there is good reason for believing that the author was acquainted with Philo's writings, although he never slavishly adopted his ideas, but transformed them by his own original personality. On this idea of the Philonic Logos-High Priest, along with that of the heavenly sanctuary; on the interpretation of Psalm 110 of our Lord; on the belief that all worship was sacrificial and that religion consisted in worship; he built his doctrine of the High Priesthood of our Lord, with its attendant intercession. He reflects all the contemporary Jewish beliefs about the intercession of men and of angels. If he were acquainted with any current Christian views on the subject of Christ's intercession, he leaves no traces of them. The doctrine, as he formulated it in reference to our Lord, was original with him.

In this Epistle our Lord is conceived as the Great High Priest, offering Himself as a sacrifice for sin, and at the same time naming to God those for whom the sacrifice was to apply, that is, those who have been admitted into His Church through baptism; secondly He offers to God the metaphorical sacrifice of the prayers of His followers; and thirdly He intercedes for them with God that they may obtain their requests.

4. Miscellaneous Books

It may be well at this point to bring together for consideration the remaining New Testament writings exclusive of the Johannine corpus. All of them are contemporary with or later than the Epistle to the Hebrews. For this reason they might be expected to show some acquaintance with a doctrine of intercession.

The First Epistle of St. Peter is acquainted with Hebrews as well as with Romans and Ephesians. It was written in Rome. Consequently it is not surprising to find the doctrine of intercession here. In 1 Pet. 2:5 Christians are exhorted to build themselves up into a spiritual house, a holy priesthood to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ. The spiritual sacrifices are prayers which the Christians offer up through the Great High Priest Jesus Christ.[76]

[76] The writer's metaphors are confused and changing constantly throughout this chapter and so no emphasis can be laid on the strangeness of priests offering sacrifices through the High Priest unto God.

Some would explain this as prayers which are acceptable to God because inspired by Jesus Christ, taking διά to go with the adjective. But this usage is unheard of and it makes better sense with the verb. It has already been seen that prayer was regarded metaphorically as a sacrifice. Consequently there is found here exactly the same conception as in Heb. 13:15. Our Lord presents the prayers and praises of His followers to the Father. This same idea of the praises of the people being presented unto God through Jesus Christ occurs again in 1 Pet. 4:11, which is similar to Rom. 1:8, 7:25, 16:27. The intercession lies in the fact that it is Christ Himself Who is the Mediator of the prayers.

In the Epistle of St. James, of uncertain date and origin, the elders are instructed to pray over a sick man anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord and, if they do it with faith, the Lord will heal him and forgive his sins. The people are also exhorted to pray for one another, particularly in regard to their sins, for the prayer of a righteous man availeth much. The efficacy of Elijah's prayers are cited in proof.[77]

There is no doctrine of our Lord's intercession here. We have the old Jewish belief in the effectiveness of the prayers of the righteous; the early Christian practice of the community praying for one another; and prayer offered to Christ, and His granting it. For "Lord" in these passages must in all probability mean

[77] Jas. 5:14-18.

Christ.[78] Our Lord not only answers prayer but He also forgives sins of His own divine power. The officials of the Church are here seen to be invested with certain intercessory offices and it is probable that their prayers were thought to have a peculiar efficacy as the representatives of Christ on earth; although the reasons for their being granted, as stated in the passage, depend upon righteousness and faith.

In the Pastoral Epistles we find supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings enjoined on the Ephesian Church to be made for all men, and for rulers, and all those in authority, which is a thing pleasing to God.[79] This indicates that intercessory prayer formed a regular part of the worship of the early Church. In 2 Tim. 1:3 the author makes mention of St. Timothy in his prayers and, in 2 Tim. 4:16, he prays that it may not be reckoned against those who forsook him at his first trial. Both these verses may be genuine Pauline fragments.

Prayers to our Lord are undoubtedly meant by the use of the Old Testament phrase[80] "naming the Name of the Lord."[81] There is also a significant proof of the prevalence of the Q saying of our Lord in 2 Tim. 2:12. The point of view is exactly the same: those who confess they are Christians, although they may have to suffer for it here, will be members of the Kingdom; but those who deny Him here will be denied by Him

[78] Jas. 5:7,8. [79] 1 Tim. 2:1-3,8.
[80] Isa. 26:13. [81] 2 Tim. 2:19.

and not admitted to the Kingdom. Our Lord intervenes on the day of judgment with the Father in favour of those who accept Him and against those who reject Him.

2 Tim. 1:18, which may be a genuine fragment from a letter of St. Paul written in Rome, is most important because it is in all probability the only reference to prayers for the dead in the New Testament, a practice which was, however, known in later Judaism.[82] As the prayer in 2 Tim. 1:16 is limited to the household of Onesiphorus it is most probable that Onesiphorus was dead then, particularly as he is prayed for separately in 2 Tim. 1:18. The wording of the prayer, however, is an unusual one and causes some difficulty: "May the Lord grant unto him to find mercy from the Lord in that day."

The first "Lord" is best taken to mean the "Lord Jesus" and the second the "Lord God." It is then a prayer to Christ to intercede with God for Onesiphorus on the day of judgment. "Mercy" must refer to a merciful judgment, that is, admittance into the Kingdom. He is then praying that Onesiphorus may be acknowledged as faithful by Christ on the Judgment Day, and receive from the Father admittance into the Kingdom.[83] It is the same point of view as in Q and in 2 Tim. 2:12. The only new thing is that a

[82] 2 Macc. 12:41-45.

[83] The second "Lord" may, however, refer to Christ as Judge (cf. 2 Tim. 4:8), and the verse may merely be a prayer to Christ to be merciful to Onesiphorus on the Judgment Day.

Christian should pray for a dead friend to Christ that He would intercede for him on the Judgment Day. It shows the very rapid, but very natural extension of the scope of intercessions in the early Church.

In the doxology to the Epistle of St. Jude the praise is offered unto God through Jesus Christ,[84] that is, the praise is considered metaphorically as a sacrifice which is presented to God by the Great High Priest, Jesus Christ, on behalf of the believers. It is the same idea as we have seen in St. Paul[85] and the Epistle to the Hebrews.[86]

In the Acts of the Apostles, written towards the end of the first century, there are several examples of intercessory prayers.[87] But the most interesting fact is the number of prayers which are addressed to Christ, showing how common this practice was from the very first days of Christianity. St. Luke was a Gentile and it was in Gentile Christianity that such prayers most flourished. The disciples' prayer at the choosing of St. Matthias immediately after the Ascension is addressed to the risen Lord.[88] There are some who take this of God because of Acts 15:8, but this is less probable in view of the fact that the Church is conceived as the followers of Christ.

St. Stephen's last words are a prayer to Christ at the right hand of God, first to receive his spirit, and secondly not to lay the sin to the charge of his per-

[84] Jude 1:25. [85] Rom. 16:27. [86] Heb. 13:15.
[87] Acts 7:60, 8:15,24, 14:23. [88] Acts 1:24.

secutors.[89] The first is a prayer that he may be admitted into the Kingdom of God and the second that his enemies may be forgiven, as Christ had taught men to pray. Our Lord is here assumed to possess the Father's power of judgment and of forgiveness. This is entirely consistent with the gospel tradition.[90]

Again in Acts 8:22, St. Peter tells Simon Magus to pray unto the Lord that his sins may be forgiven. Simon Magus immediately requests the apostles to pray to the Lord for him that none of the things of which they spoke may come upon him.[91] Our Lord here possesses the independent divine power of sending or withholding punishment. The apostles also are looked upon as possessing special powers of intercession, because of their righteousness and their special relationship to the Lord. This is the only instance in the New Testament, but from such an idea grew the latter doctrine of the intercession of the saints. It is exactly like the Old Testament belief in the efficacy of the intercession of prophets, because they were in special communication with God.

There is also a group of passages having to do with calling on the Name of the Lord, where it seems to mean, even in connection with baptism, acknowledging Christ as Lord by praying unto Him.[92] Praying unto Christ was then a distinguishing mark of the

[89] Acts 7:59,60.

[90] Matt. 9:2-6 = Mark 2:5-11 = Luke 5:20-24; Matt. 16:27 = Mark 8:38 = Luke 9:26.

[91] Acts 8:24. [92] Acts 2:21, 9:14,21, 22:16.

Christian community,[93] setting Christians apart from the other Jews of the synagogues.[94] The Book of the Acts furnishes us with a considerable number of prayers addressed to our Lord but with no doctrine of His intercession in heaven. In fact these prayers seem here specifically to exclude such a belief.

In the curious Jewish Christian Apocalypse known as the Revelation of St. John the Divine, there are many of the beliefs in regard to intercession which are found in the apocalyptic literature of later Judaism.[95] Prayers to our Lord also are found several times. Just before the final words of the book occurs: "Come, Lord Jesus,"[96] which is found in its Aramaic form in

[93] On the other hand a common prayer of the community is found in Acts 4:24-30, where God is addressed as Lord and where no mention is made of Christ in the address, nor in the conclusion, unless with some the final phrase, "through the Name of Thy Holy Servant Jesus," is taken to be the intercessory conclusion, and not in connection with the doing of the signs. There seems little doubt, however, that it refers to miracles performed through the use of the Name of our Lord.

[94] Acts 9:21.

[95] Satan appeared in heaven standing and accusing the brethren before God, day and night, until he was cast down from there by Christ (Rev. 12:10). Moreover the souls of those who have been martyred for the faith are in heaven crying out to the Lord for vengeance on those who slew them (Rev. 6:9,10). The prayers of Christians are mediated to God by an angel (Rev. 8:3,4). They are pictured as a sacrifice laid upon the golden altar of incense before God's throne and ascending up to Him along with the smoke of the heavenly incense, as in Ps. 141:2, which is the first instance of prayer being compared to incense. The prayers of Christians are again pictured as incense (Rev. 5:8), but this time as offered to the Lamb by the four living creatures and the twenty-four elders. The author believed in the angelic mediation of prayer whether addressed to Christ or to God.

[96] Rev. 22:20.

St. Paul.[97] In addition, several of the hymns of the heavenly beings are addressed to Him alone or in conjunction with the Father,[98] as well as doxologies;[99] and He is the Recipient of the prayers of the saints.[100]

In the letter to the Church at Sardis our Lord says that He will confess the name of all who overcome evil before His Father and His angels.[101] One would almost suspect this of being a conflation of the Matthean and Lucan sayings.[102] In any case it is exactly the same point of view, our Lord indicating to the Father who are to share in the heavenly life. However, in the letter to Laodicea He is pictured as having independent authority to admit to heaven.[103]

The numerous passages about the presence of the slain Lamb before the throne, or sitting upon it, do not involve any theory of intercession on the author's part. Although our Lord is pictured as the Victim, He is nevertheless pictured as a King,[104] and as such receives the homage of the heavenly beings. He is nowhere in the book pictured as a priest, nor does He mediate the prayers of men. His sole intercessory function is a soteriological one. Otherwise He receives equal honour with the Father, and like Him is the Recipient of prayers and praises.

[97] 1 Cor. 16:22. [98] Rev. 5:9,10,12,13, 7:10.

[99] Rev. 1:5,6. [100] Rev. 5:8.

[101] Rev. 3:5. Those who have been martyred for their confession of Him are to share in His millennial reign (Rev. 20:4).

[102] Matt. 10:32,33 = Luke 12:8,9. [103] Rev. 3:21. [104] Rev. 1:13.

The Second Epistle of St. Peter ends with a doxology addressed to Christ[105] showing that He was an Object of divine worship.

These various writings are of unequal value in regard to the doctrine of intercession. But the First Epistle of St. Peter, the Second Epistle to St. Timothy, and the Epistle of St. Jude, the first two of which are very likely of Roman origin, do testify to a belief in the intercessory activity of our Lord and of His mediation of prayer to the Father.

5. The Johannine Writings

In the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John are found several important references to intercession. The two minor Epistles, as might be expected, contain no mention of the doctrine.[106] The author in his Gospel conceives of the Father and the Son as One, and yet distinct, with the Son subordinate to the Father. As he is only dealing with the earthly life of our Lord, he does not picture Him as the heavenly High Priest, nor does such a picture fit in with his conception of Him as the Messiah Who returns again to His glorious state in heaven.

That has not prevented, however, the seventeenth chapter of the Gospel from being known as the High Priestly Prayer of our Lord. It has been justified, on

[105] 2 Pet. 3:18. In 2 Pet. 2:11 there seems to be a reflection of the Jewish belief that angels accuse men before God.

[106] In 3 John 1:2 the writer prays that Gaius may prosper materially as well as spiritually, and be in good health.

insufficient grounds, as being similar to the actions and prayers of the Jewish high priest on the Day of Atonement and reflecting the language and ideas of the Epistle to the Hebrews. But the prayer has no reference to the forgiveness of sins and our Lord in this Gospel is not represented as thinking of His death as a sacrificial offering to God.[107]

Christ's intercession is here only for His own disciples at that time[108] and those who later shall believe on Him through their preaching.[109] It is not for the world, but only for those whom God has given Him. He prays primarily that His disciples may be one with God; that they may live in full communion with the Father, which (in the author's view) is eternal life. He wants His disciples to enjoy the same full communion with God which He Himself now enjoys,[110] and, as He Himself is One with the Father, so also any union of believers with the Father will likewise be a union with the Son. He also prays that God will keep them through His own power, not by taking them out of the world, but by keeping them from the evil in the world,[111] and that God will set them apart into

[107] The High Priestly interpretation is chiefly based on John 17:19, with its use of the verb *ἁγιάζειν*. The primary meaning of this verb throughout the Septuagint is "to fit for contact with the Deity." Sometimes it is connected with sacrifice (1 Sam. 16:5), but in the majority of cases there is no such reference, and it is extremely improbable that the verb is used in a double sense here within the same verse. It was not through our Lord's death, but through the revelation of the Truth in His life, that men were fitted for communion with God.

[108] John 17:9. [109] John 17:20.

[110] John 17:11,21,22. [111] John 17:11,15.

communion with Himself by the revelation of His truth to them;[112] and that they may be with Him in heaven in order that they may behold His preëxistent state of exaltation.[113]

Our Lord is praying for the salvation of His disciples, that they may be separated from evil and live in full communion with God now, and later dwell in heaven. Nothing is said about the forgiveness of sins; it is rather a prayer that His disciples may continue in that state of discipleship into which they have entered, and achieve its full completion. It is a prayer for their protection, for their endowment with spiritual gifts, and for their perfection in the Christian life. This prayer and that in Luke 22:32 are the only recorded instances of the earthly intercession of our Lord for His disciples, and in both He intercedes that they may continue steadfast in their faith. These prayers have no priestly connection, and are much more analogous to those of the ancient kings for their people.

This Gospel is the only place in the New Testament where we find explicit reference to the fact that God always hears the prayers of His Son, although this thought seems to underlie the whole New Testament conception of our Lord's relationship to the Father. In the incident of the raising of Lazarus Martha remarks to our Lord that she knows that whatever He asks of God, God will give Him.[114] And just before He calls Lazarus from the grave our Lord says: "Father,

[112] John 17:17. [113] John 17:24. [114] John 11:22.

I thank Thee that Thou hast heard Me. And I knew that Thou hearest Me always."[115]

The author, like St. Paul, believed that all knowledge of the Father and all communion with Him was mediated through His Son. In John 10:7,9 our Lord is pictured as the Door, and in John 14:6 as the Way, and it is stated that no one comes unto the Father except through Him. In both of these passages the writer has salvation in mind and is not thinking of prayer. It appears elsewhere that he has no conception of our Lord as the Mediator of prayer to the Father.

Our Lord refers to the prayers of His disciples several times in the discourses following upon the Last Supper. He tells His disciples that whatever they ask in His Name will be granted. Sometimes it is Christ Himself Who answers the prayer;[116] sometimes it is not specified;[117] at other times it is the Father[118] Who grants the request.[119]

[115] John 11:41,42. [116] John 14:13,14.
[117] John 15:7, 16:24,26. [118] John 15:16, 16:23.
[119] It should be noted, however, that in John 15:16 the original Greek could be read either in the first or the third person, but the editors seem right in taking it to be third person and referring to the Father. This attribution both to the Father and to the Son is no difficulty, however, for in the Johannine view the Father and the Son are so mutually interrelated as One (John 14:11,23) that the same action may be attributed to Each of Them. Similarly the use of ἐρωτᾶν (John 16:26) instead of αἰτεῖν is no difficulty, because it is often used in the sense of "to pray" in later Greek, although above in John 16:23 it is used in its more common meaning of "to ask a question." This is seen in the case of John16:23from the fact that the disciples have just been questioning our Lord, there is no reference to previous prayer to Him, and this would be in conflict with John 14:14.

The phrase "in My Name" is best taken to mean "by making use of My Name in praying."[120] This use of the name was not an appeal to our Lord directly to mediate the prayer to God, nor was it used as a magical formula to obtain their requests, as the names of other gods were at that time. Its antecedents are rather in the Jewish doctrine of merits. The Israelites were heard not for their own merits, but because of the great merits of their righteous forefathers, and indicated that they were their descendants, and thus entitled to be heard, by making use of their names in prayer.[121] Similarly Christians were not heard for their own merits, but because of the merits of Him Whose disciples they were, and this was indicated to God by the use of His Son's Name in prayer.

It is the silent intercession of an influential and well-beloved name. The same experience is repeated continually in human life to-day, where the name of some mutual or respected friend obtains a privilege or request which otherwise would not be granted. To be a true disciple of Christ demands a moral condition from the believer which places no bar to the granting of the request, if it be the will of God. Consequently Christians are heard by the Father because they are disciples of His Son,[122] and this is made known to the Father by their use of His Son's Name in their prayers to Him. Christians would also make use of Christ's

[120] For a full discussion, see Appendix F.
[121] Exod. 32:13; Deut. 9:27. [122] John 14:12.

Name in prayer to Christ Himself,[123] thereby indicating to Him that they were His disciples, and as such worthy to have their requests heard.

This interpretation is strengthened by the passage John 16:26,27 where our Lord says that He will not pray the Father, for there is no need, because the Father loves all those who love and have believed on the Son. In other words there is no need of intercession on the part of Christ, the mere fact that they are His disciples is enough to obtain their request from His Father. And in another passage[124] it is because they are Christ's disciples and keep His commandments that they obtain their requests. This view is further supported by a passage in the First Epistle[125] where it is said that whatever Christians ask of God they receive from Him, because they keep His commandments and do what is pleasing to Him. And the commandment is that they should believe in the Name of His Son Jesus Christ, and love one another. Their prayer is answered because of their belief in Jesus Christ as His Son come in the flesh, that is, because they are His disciples.[126]

In 1 John 5:14-17 it is stated that Christians have this confidence, that whatever they ask according

[123] John 14:14. [124] John 15:7. [125] 1 John 3:22,23.

[126] It may be possible that the emphasis in the Johannine writings on "prayer in My Name" is due to controversial reasons, either against Jewish converts who still made use of the names of the patriarchs in prayer, or else the followers of St. John the Baptist who may possibly have employed his name when they prayed. But we have no evidence to show that either was the case.

to God's will, He will grant, and because they know this, they are confident that their petitions are answered even if they do not see their immediate fulfillment.[127] Christians are to pray for any Christian they see sinning and God will restore him to the full Christian life again, but they are not to pray for apostates from the faith.

¶ In John 14:13,14, 15:16, 16:24 it is stated that whatever men ask in our Lord's Name will be done, but, in 1 John 5:14, it is said that whatever they ask according to God's will, and in the next verse that whatever they ask, will be granted. Some have consequently thought that "in My Name" should be translated "according to Christ's will," but reasons have been seen for taking it otherwise. And it seems better to take "according to His will" in this passage

[127] The context at first sight would incline one to take this passage as referring to the Son, because in 1 John 5:13 the last thing mentioned is "in the Name of the Son of God," and in 1 John 5:18 "God" reappears as if to indicate a change of subject. It would then be a reference to prayers to our Lord, of which we have found only one doubtful instance in all these writings (John 14:14). However the context is not a safe guide in the First Epistle to the meaning of a passage, as 1 John 1:9, 3:19 clearly show, for there the reference must be to the Father; and 1 John 3:2,3 where, in spite of the context, it refers to the Son. Consequently it seems best to take these verses as referring to God and having the same point of view as 1 John 3:21. The first part of the passage raises certain questions in regard to parallel statements in the Gospel. There it is said that God does not hear sinners, but that He does hear anyone who worships Him and does His will (John 9:31). This is, however, the point of view of the Jews, and it is interesting as expressing a direct approach to God in prayer, the answer being contingent solely on the religious and moral attitude of the believer himself towards God. It does not, however, come into consideration here as we are dealing with Christian prayer.

as meaning that God wills that men, in praying to Him, should make use of the Name of His Son, acknowledging Him as their Lord. In other words, it is God's will to answer the prayers of those who are disciples of His Son and keep His commandments. 1 John 5:15 is to be interpreted, not as an independent statement, but as also limited by this phrase in the preceding verse.

The passage goes on to enjoin intercessory prayer to God that life may be granted to those Christians who sin, that is, that their sins may be forgiven and they be restored to that fellowship with the Father which is eternal life. It also teaches that there is a sin unto death for which no intercession avails. So God told Jeremiah of old.[128] The most probable explanation of the sin unto death is apostasy. As long as a man remained a member of the community, his brethren were to pray for the forgiveness of his sins, but when once he had deserted it, they were not to pray to God for the forgiveness of that sin, for as long as he remained apostate he could not be forgiven, being unrepentant.

There remain to be considered the passages about the Paraclete.[129] In the first one our Lord tells His

[128] Jer. 7:16, 11:14, 14:11.

[129] Παράκλητος is found only in the Johannine writings in the New Testament. The word originally meant "summoned to one's side," "called to one's aid." However it soon took on an active meaning, as the person summoned helped the one by whom he had been called. It is consequently found used as an "intercessor" (Philo De Josepho 239; De Vita Mosis II.134; De Specialibus Legibus I.237; De Exsecrationibus 166;

disciples that He will pray the Father and He will send them another Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, Who will be with them for ever.[130] But in two of the other passages our Lord merely says that He will send the Paraclete,[131] and in the third it is the Father Who sends Him.[132]

The Paraclete does not come until our Lord has quit the earth.[133] That and the future tense in John

In Flaccum 13, 22, 23); and as a "helper" or "counsellor" (Philo De Opificio Mundi 23, 165). This active meaning is confirmed by later Christian writers (Did. 5:2; Barn. 20:2; Clem. Al. Quis Div. 25:7; Origen Ora. 10:2), by its use as a loan word in later Hebrew (Aboth 4:11), and by Aquila's and Theodotion's translations of Job 16:2. It is often maintained on the basis of Demosthenes, De Falsa Legatione I.341; Diogenes Laertius IV.50; Dionysius Halicarnassus XI.37.1; Dio Cassius XLVI.20.1, that *παράκλητος* has the technical sense of lawyer or advocate and is therefore synonymous with *συνήγορος* or *σύνδικος* and equivalent to the Latin *advocatus*. But a careful examination of these passages will show that all that is meant is a friend who testifies or pleads for the accused, and not an attorney in the technical sense; or else a representative, but again not one in a technical legal sense. In the rabbinic literature we frequently find פְּרַקְלִיט or פַּרְקְלִישָׁא. It is often used as a synonym of סָנֵיגוֹר and in contrast to קָטֵיגוֹר. Hence it has technical legal associations. It is used in reference to angels (Targ. Job 33:23); men (Targ. Job 16:20); works (Jer. Berakhoth 7b; Aboth 4:11; Shabbath 32a; Tosephta Peah 4.21). These plead with God on behalf of men, acting as their representative. In the Johannine passages paraclete is used in the general sense of "helper" (John 14:16), and also in the sense of "teacher" (John 14:26); in John 15:26 it is used in the sense of "witness" or "advocate," and in John 16:7 of "vindicator." It must also be noted that the Spirit, in convicting the world, acts in behalf of and for Christ, in other words, as His Advocate. The word, then, prevailingly has attached to it in classical Greek, Philo, the Johannine writings, and in rabbinic circles the meaning of a "representative who speaks for one."

[130] John 14:16. [131] John 15:26, 16:7.
[132] John 14:26. [133] John 16:7.

14:16 put the scene of Christ's prayer in heaven, the only reference to such prayer in the Gospel. After our Lord has gone to the Father[134] He will ask Him to send them another Supporter or Helper[135] and through Him they will do greater works. This is a heavenly intercession on the part of our Lord, but in no sense connected with redemption or forgiveness (an idea which scarcely figures in the Gospel); nor is it repeated; it is made only once.

In John 14:16 our Lord is called a Paraclete by implication and in 1 John 2:1 it is specifically said that, if any one sins, they have a Paraclete with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, Who is the Propititation for the sins of the whole world.

In the passages about the Paraclete in the Gospel,[136] both where it refers to the Spirit and to our Lord, the representation is from God to man. Christ is sent to accomplish God's work and the Holy Spirit is sent to carry on that begun by our Lord, and in that sense He may be said to come to His disciples again.[137] In John

[134] John 14:12. [135] John 14:16.

[136] It should be noted, however, that some scholars believe the Paraclete passages to be later insertions into the Gospel, either by the author himself, according to the most general view, or else by some later editor. According to them they have no connection with their context; they belong together and may have come from some document about the Paraclete. Originally the Paraclete was not identified with the Spirit, it is the author of the Fourth Gospel who has done so. But as these critics believe that the passage in the First Epistle is part of the original Epistle, and most of them believe that those in the Gospel are the author's own insertions, this theory need not here be taken into consideration.

[137] John 14:18.

14:16,17 no mention is made of the functions of the Paraclete. He is only described as the Spirit of truth and eternally abiding with believers, but unknown to the world. But in John 15:26 He acts as a Witness on behalf of our Lord. He comes from the Father to support our Lord's work and teaching by the witness which He bears to it. And again in John 16:7-11 the Paraclete comes after the Ascension of our Lord as His Representative, with the function of vindicating through the life of the Church our Lord's ministry. The Paraclete convicts the world of its sin in not believing on Christ, Whose righteousness is proved by the fact that He is now with the Father; and furthermore, at Christ's death on earth, it was the Devil and not Christ who was condemned.

But in the First Epistle our Lord appears as the Helper of Christians with the Father in the matter of sins.[138] That these sins are post-baptismal appears from the fact that the letter is addressed to Christians,[139] and that the author is referring to their present sins. The term paraclete often has the specific sense of intercessor and here such a meaning seems to be demanded by the context; for our Lord is regarded as a righteous third Party coming in between sinning Christians and the Father in regard to their sins. Accordingly, in 1 John 2:1 our Lord appears as the Representative of Christians before God to plead for

[138] 1 John 2:1.

[139] The first person plural is used throughout the Epistle.

them when they sin. Their Representative is righteous, as were the ancient Jewish patriarchs who prayed for their sinful fellow countrymen, and because only one who was righteous could remain in the Presence of God.

This is the first passage in the New Testament where the doctrine of intercession is connected with post-baptismal sins. The author is aware theoretically that Christians should not sin in their new life, but equally conscious of the fact that they do. And when they do, they have One to intercede for them Who is, at the same time, the Means of forgiveness for the sins of the whole world. This is of itself sufficient guarantee that His requests will be granted. This Paraclete is one with the human race and one with the Father, and is therefore the one perfect Mediator between the two, as He is so pictured in Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews. As in the latter, He is both the Means of forgiveness[140] and the Intercessor. But in the Johannine

[140] The meaning here of ἱλασμός is not absolutely certain. It is found in the Septuagint both in the sense of "propitiation" (Lev. 25:9; Num. 5:8; Ezek. 44:27; 2 Macc. 3:33) and of "divine forgiveness," translating the Hebrew סְלִיחָה (Ps. 130:4). Now the verb כִּפֶּר which is translated as a rule by ἐξιλάσκεσθαι often means "to seek to secure the remission of the penalty of an act," and sometimes this occurs where there is no mention of an offering (Exod. 32:30), but more often in connection with one of the prescribed sacrifices (Lev. 5:6,10). Some scholars believe that this can best be translated "intercede" in such passages, whether the intercession is merely prayer, or else prayer accompanied by sacrifice. Furthermore ἐξιλάσκεσθαι is used to translate חָלָה (Zech. 7:2, 8:22; Mal. 1:9) which means "to flatter," or "to

writings this is not connected with any theory of a heavenly High Priesthood, and it is a real intercession for sins committed after baptism, and not a mere naming of those for whom the forgiveness is applicable as in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The writer somehow felt that if Christians violated their fellowship with God by sinning, they in a sense forfeited their right to be heard by Him, and hence Christ's intercession was needed that their repentance might be accepted and they restored to fellowship. That His intercession was naturally dependent upon

intercede for," and פָּלַל (Ps. 106:30) which in the Hithpael means "to intercede;" and ἐξιλασμός (2 Macc. 12:45) could be translated "intercession" as well as not. Consequently some scholars take ἱλασμός here to refer to intercession and to be a reference to our Lord's function as Paraclete. That is, the means of forgiveness, whereby the sins of Christians are remitted, is the intercession, rather than the death of our Lord. But the use of ἱλασμός in the Septuagint and elsewhere does not support this; its use in 1 John 4:10 is directly against it; and furthermore the mention of the sins of the whole world is incompatible not only with 1 John 2:1, but with the whole point of view of the writer and of early Christianity. Christ died for the sins of the whole world, but the benefits of His death and His heavenly intercession were only for those who were members of His Church. Hence ἱλασμός must be taken as in some sense referring to His death being a sacrifice for sins, but very appropriately used here in this connection because all sacrifice and propitiation are of themselves intercessions, and there is a slight connotation of intercession attaching to cognates of the word. This sentence is added to 1 John 2:1 to strengthen the assurance of the Christians that through Christ's intercession they will obtain forgiveness. First, because God has appointed Him the Propititation for the world's sins; and secondly, because the intercessions of the martyred righteous were thought in Judaism to have peculiar efficacy with God. If Christ is the Means through which the world obtains forgiveness, certainly His intercession for their forgiveness will be heard.

the repentance and confession of their sins comes out previously in 1 John 1:9, for confession in Jewish thought implied repentance.

Christ's intercession is here connected only with the forgiveness of sins.[141] When Christians prayed for anything else than the forgiveness of their own sins they had only to pray in the Name of our Lord, that is, as His disciples, in order to be heard; but when they had done something so incompatible with being His disciples as to sin, they needed His special intercession. Because they are His, He is their natural Representative with the Father to obtain their forgiveness, and the author is sure of the hearing of our Lord's petitions.[142]

It is interesting to note that in Q,[143] St. Paul,[144] and the Johannine writings,[145] we find the non-priestly

[141] The writer in several passages seems to connect the forgiveness of sins with Christ (John 1:29; 1 John 1:7, 2:2,12, 3:5, 4:10); but in only one of them is it in any way connected with His death (1 John 1:7), and there are some even who interpret this of the Eucharist. He seems to have had no theory upon the subject of how Christ's death was connected with the forgiveness of sins. And the reason undoubtedly was that it is a survival of a community belief which has no real place in his own theology. For theoretically a Christian is born again into a new life of communion with the Father and the Son in which sin does not exist (1 John 3:9, 5:18). His writings are full of the survival of such traditional Christian beliefs which are inconsistent with his own theology.

[142] It is worth noting that alongside of this view of the Father as the One Who forgives sins, there occurs the passage in the Gospel (John 20:22,23) where our Lord bestows the Holy Spirit upon His disciples and gives them the power to forgive or to retain sins. But the author apparently felt no discrepancy between these two points of view.

[143] Matt. 10:32,33 = Luke 12:8,9; Matt. 10:19,20 = Luke 12:11,12.

[144] Rom. 8:34. [145] John 14:26, 15:26, 16:13; 1 John 2:1.

view of intercession and a twofold conception of the function of the Paraclete. In all three of them our Lord appears in heaven as the Advocate of Christians, and the Spirit appears on earth as their Instructor. But only in the Johannine writings is either this activity of our Lord or of the Spirit connected with the term Paraclete.

There is found then in the Johannine writings the belief that Christian prayer in which the Name of our Lord is used is heard by the Father, because it comes from those who are the disciples of His Son and thus share in His merits; secondly, that Christ prayed for His disciples upon earth that they might remain His true followers and obtain salvation; thirdly, that in heaven He prays that the Father will send them a Helper to carry on His work; and fourthly, that He intercedes for the forgiveness of the sins committed by His followers after their baptism. His intercession is specific, rather than a general intercession and mediation of all prayer.

6. Summary

Within the New Testament we have found two distinct points of view as to the intercession of our Lord. The first and the earliest one is the non-priestly or judicial. It started in what is apparently a genuine saying of our Lord about His acknowledging His followers before His Father at the Last Day and thus obtaining their admittance to the Kingdom. It was

developed later into His asking as their Advocate for the forgiveness of the sins committed after they were His disciples.

The other point of view is the priestly one, where our Lord is conceived as the High Priest offering Himself as the Victim and naming those for whom the sacrifice was to apply for their salvation. In addition, due to prayer's being regarded metaphorically as a sacrifice, our Lord as High Priest mediates the prayers of believers to God, that is, He offers them as the true sacrifice of the worshippers of God. There are thus found within the New Testament itself all of the elements which went into the making of the later doctrine of the intercession of our Lord.

The objection is sometimes raised that so many of these references are casual and that there are numerous instances where prayer or forgiveness or salvation is mentioned without any reference to such a doctrine. This is all very true, but it applies to every other Christian doctrine mentioned in the New Testament. None of the writers has set himself the task of writing a treatise on prayer or on the whole theory of salvation. It is extremely doubtful if they had any elaborate one at that time. But there does seem to be abundant proof that Christians of the New Testament period did believe that our Lord acted in an intercessory capacity for them with the Father.

CHAPTER III

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

There is really no gap between the Apostolic Fathers and the New Testament as far as time or the continuity of doctrine is concerned. The earliest of these, the First Epistle of St. Clement, written from Rome to Corinth around 95, is more or less contemporaneous with the Acts and the Fourth Gospel. It is acquainted with the Epistle to the Hebrews and makes use of some of its ideas and language. In it we find more than a few references to prayer directly to God,[1] particularly prayers for mercy and forgiveness,[2] without the mention of our Lord, and there are also references to intercessory prayer,[3] particularly that for sinners.[4] In addition we find an Old Testament quotation referring to the intercession of the righteous and of angels in heaven,[5] and the whole of Isa. 53:1-12 quoted according to the Septuagint, and consequently with no reference to intercession, but simply to show the humility of our Lord.[6]

This Epistle contains, like that to the Hebrews, no prayers addressed to our Lord, but it has several refer-

[1] 1 Clem. 23:1, 29:1, 38:4, 50:2. [2] 1 Clem. 2:3, 9:1, 48:1, 51:1.
[3] 1 Clem. 59:2, 65:1. [4] 1 Clem. 56:1.
[5] 1 Clem. 39:7. [6] 1 Clem. 16:3-14.

ences to His High Priesthood and mediation of prayer. The first one occurs in a passage[7] full of reminiscences of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where He is named "the High Priest of our offerings, the Patron[8] and Helper of our infirmity." "Offerings" must here be used metaphorically of the sacrifices of prayers, particularly in view of 1 Clem. 35:12. The passage has chiefly to do with our Lord as the Mediator of salvation and revelation, but He is also spoken of as the Helper of man's infirmity. This must mean that He aids man's weak nature which is subject to temptation. The manner of the help is not stated. It may be

[7] 1 Clem. 36:1.

[8] The word προστάτης used here and in 1 Clem. 61:3, 64:1 is an interesting one. In classical Greek it means "a front-rank man" (Xen. Cyr. III. 3.41); "a ruler" (Aesch. Supp. 963); a "protector," "guard," "champion" (Aesch. Theb. 408; Plato Rep. 607D), particularly a "divine protector" (Soph. O.T. 882; Tr. 209); "a citizen at Athens who took care of resident aliens" (Lys. 187.29); "a patron" (Plut. Rom. 13); "one who stands before a god to entreat him," "a suppliant" (Soph. O.C. 1171, 1278). The verb προΐστημι is also found with the meaning "to approach as a suppliant" (Soph. El. 1378). In the Septuagint προστάτης is found with the meaning of a "royal official" (1 Chron. 27:31, 29:6; 2 Chron. 8:10, 24:11); "ruler" (1 Esdras 2:12); or "Temple official" (2 Chron. 24:11; Sir. 45:24; 2 Macc. 3:4). The idea of government in a dependent position is the only meaning running through all of these uses. The noun is not found in the New Testament, but the feminine form occurs with the meaning "protector," "helper," "patroness" (Rom. 16:2). The word is found occasionally in the papyri with the meaning "patron" (BGU IV.1136.2; P. Oxy. II.299.4). It does not occur elsewhere in the Apostolic Fathers, and only once in the Apologists (Just. Dial. 92:2) with the meaning "leader" or "ruler." Consequently the expression "high priest and patron" is peculiar to St. Clement. He seems to have taken up into his use of προστάτης the various associated meanings of "protector," "patron," and "suppliant before the gods."

by the direct bestowal of spiritual strength, or more likely in view of the context of the passage, by petitioning the Father to send help.

The long prayer addressed to God,[9] probably composed on the model of the Roman community prayers, contains intercessions of various sorts, and a plea for forgiveness, ending with a doxology addressed to the Father "through the High Priest and Patron of our souls, Jesus Christ, through Whom to Thee be glory and majesty, both now and for ever. Amen."[10]

It is interesting to note that the earliest prayer of any length which we have of a Christian community has a liturgical ending involving the doctrine of the High Priesthood and intercession of our Lord. He is the High Priest offering their sacrifice of prayer and praise to the Father; He is also their Patron, the One Who takes a protecting interest in them before the Father. It is the same concept that is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

The third direct reference to our Lord as High Priest occurs in one of the closing blessings.[11] Here as in the preceding case the petition is asked "through our High Priest and Patron Jesus Christ" and the concluding doxology is also especially said to be offered through Him to the Father. Similarly other doxologies in the Epistle are offered to the Father through Christ.[12] It is also probable that the phrase "fled to

[9] 1 Clem. 59:3-61:3. [10] 1 Clem. 61:3.
[11] 1 Clem. 64:1. [12] 1 Clem. 58:2, 65:2.

His mercies through our Lord Jesus Christ"[13] refers to prayer for mercy and forgiveness and help addressed to the Father through the mediation and intercession of Christ.

St. Clement clearly shows that ten or fifteen years after the writing of the Epistle to the Hebrews its doctrine of the High Priesthood of our Lord was an accepted and regular part of Christian belief in Rome and used in liturgical worship there. It is important to note, however, that the First Epistle of St. Clement has no reference to our Lord as High Priest offering Himself for the forgiveness of men's sins. He merely offers their prayers and praises and intercedes for their forgiveness and salvation and the bestowal of spiritual strength upon them. The High Priesthood of our Lord is here connected entirely with prayer, as it commonly was in later times.

The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles in all probability was composed in Syria towards the end of the first century. It contains numerous references to prayer and several actual examples,[14] but nothing of any importance for the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord.[15] Similarly in the Epistle of St. Barnabas, un-

[13] 1 Clem. 20:11. [14] Did. 9:2-4, 10:2-6.

[15] There are several directions about intercessory prayer (Did. 1:3, 2:7) and how to pray, particularly during the service (Did. 4:14, 8:3, 9:1, 10:7, 14:1, 15:4), including the citation of the Lord's prayer (Did. 8:2), and of the מָרָנָא תָא (Did. 10:6), thus giving further evidence concerning the currency of prayers to our Lord. In the eucharistic prayers (Did. 9:2-4, 10:2-6) occur the phrases "through Jesus Thy Son" at the end of petitions; and the question arises here as also in Acts 4:30 where the same

known in its origin and uncertain in its date (although probably around 100), there are no references to the Christian doctrine of intercession.[16]

The seven Epistles of St. Ignatius[17] were probably written in 115, four of them from Smyrna (Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans), and three from Troas (Philadelphians, Smyrneans, Polycarp), while he was on his way to Rome to be thrown to the beasts.

word παῖς is used, if this refers to our Lord's instrumentality in the mediation of prayer or in that of revelation and power. In Did. 9:2,3 the appended doxology, plus the fact that "make known" would be left pendent if it did not go with it, make it certain that no mediation of prayer is meant here, but that our Lord is the Instrument of revelation. In Did. 10:3 the verse is a declaration and there is no petition or thanksgiving involved, and consequently here again our Lord is the Mediator of salvation. In Did. 9:4 we have the conclusion of the prayers, but instead of being a doxology it is rather a statement that glory and power are God's in His Kingdom and are manifested through Jesus Christ. These phrases may have been put at the end of these prayers because elsewhere in the Church similar phrases were traditionally used in such a place implying the intercession of our Lord. But certainly this writer held no such point of view.

[16] Prayer is directed to God (Barn. 3:5, 6:16), and the benedictions are phrased in the Name of God alone (Barn. 21:5,9). Men are commanded to confess their sins and not to pray with an evil conscience (Barn. 19:12). There is one reference to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob being great before God (Barn. 8:4) and to the people asking Moses to offer prayer for their healing (Barn. 12:7). As the date and the locality both of composition and destination of this Epistle are unknown, it may be left entirely out of account, even as a negative factor.

[17] In the Syriac Abridgment of the Ignatian Epistles, dating from the fourth century, all references to our Lord's intercession have been removed. On the other hand the Longer Rescension, dating from the same century, introduces a number of new references to His intercession and High Priesthood (Eph. 12; Mag. 4,7; Phila. 6; Smyr. 9).

They abound in references to intercessory prayer.[18] St. Ignatius, like St. Paul, is continually praying for various Churches and individuals, and urging them to pray for him and for one another, and both of these men undoubtedly had much to do with the prevalence of intercessory prayer in the early Church.

There is one reflection of our Lord's saying about denying Him,[19] and another of the saying about two or three being gathered together in His Name,[20] where it is stated that the prayer of the Bishop and the Church has even greater effectiveness than the prayers of one or two.

It is interesting to note that in spite of St. Ignatius' intense love and devotion to our Lord he seldom prays to Him, but addresses his prayers to God.[21] There are, however, a few such instances,[22] and he considers Christ as having power over repentance[23] and the bestowal of spiritual gifts.[24]

St. Ignatius was aware of the belief in the High Priesthood of our Lord and he has one reference to it,[25] but it does not seem to be an important element in his every day system of theology. The High Priest is the One Who alone knows the hidden things of God

[18] Eph. 1:2, 2:1, 10:1,2, 11:2, 20:1, 21:2; Mag. 1:2, 14:1; Tral. 12:2,3, 13:1; Rom. 3:2, 4:2, 8:3, 9:1; Phila. 5:1, 6:3, 8:2, 10:1, 11:1; Smyr. 4:1, 10:1,2, 11:1,3, 13:2; Pol. 7:1.

[19] Smyr. 5:1,2. [20] Eph. 5:2. [21] Rom. 1:1.

[22] Rom. 4:2; Smyr. 1:1. Pliny also bears testimony to such a practice in Asia Minor in his rescript written to the Emperor Trajan in 113: *Christo quasi deo carmen dicere* (Ep. 96).

[23] Phila. 8:1; Smyr. 4:1. [24] Smyr. 1:1. [25] Phila. 9:1.

and He is the Door through which the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and the Church attain access to the Father. The whole passage more resembles the Fourth Gospel than the Epistle to the Hebrews. He is here the Mediator of revelation and salvation, rather than of prayer and, like the Fourth Gospel, His unity with the Father is emphasized.[26]

St. Ignatius was fond of musical metaphors and once he speaks of Christians singing together in harmony to the Father through Jesus Christ.[27] Another time he says that the Romans, becoming a chorus in love, should sing to the Father in Christ Jesus.[28] This last does not refer to the mediation of praise and thanksgiving nor even to His inspiration of it, but rather means that the Romans as Christians, as one with Christ, should unite in praising the Father for the testimony borne to the Faith by one of His martyrs.

The first reference (Eph. 4:2) is capable of two interpretations: either that of our Lord's High Priestly mediation of prayer, or else of His inspiration of prayer. Supporting the first view is the fact that St. Ignatius did regard Him as High Priest,[29] but against it is the fact that nowhere else in the Epistles does such a view of the mediation of prayer exist. However the large majority of the instances of διά with a personal genitive are used in an instrumental sense,[30] and there

[26] As it is also in Mag. 7:1; Smyr. 3:3.

[27] Eph. 4:2. [28] Rom. 2:2. [29] Phila. 9:1.

[30] Eph. 2:1; Mag. 2:1, 5:2a, 7:1a,b, 8:2, 9:1; Tral. 1:2, 8:2; Rom. 10:1; Phila. 11:2; Smyr. 12:1; Pol. 8:1.

are only two doubtful cases of an instrumental causal sense.[31] The clause "that He may hear you" would be equally applicable either because Christ mediated the prayer to the Father with the request that it be granted, or because Christ inspired a prayer acceptable to God. The question must be left open, but there is a slight probability that although St. Ignatius knew of such a view, he himself did not hold any doctrine of our Lord's intercessory mediation at this period, because his tendency to regard Christ as God would exclude a doctrine of intercession.

The Epistle of St. Polycarp to the Philippians, which was written from Smyrna around 116, contains several references to human intercessory prayer on earth,[32] and one to beseeching God not to lead them into temptation,[33] one of the earliest direct quotations from the Lord's prayer. There is also one reference to prayer to our Lord for forgiveness, mentioned as if it were a common practice.[34]

Then in Pol. Phil. 12:2, which is extant only in Latin, there is a prayer that the Father and the Eternal High Priest Himself, Jesus Christ, may send the Philippians spiritual blessings and grant both them and the Smyrneans entrance into heaven. We have seen that the joining of the Father and the Son in the address of prayers of blessing was common in St. Paul,[35] and that They were looked upon equally as the

[31] Mag. 5:2b; Phila. 8:2. [32] Pol. Phil. 4:3, 11:4, 12:2,3.
[33] Pol. Phil. 7:2. [34] Pol. Phil. 6:2. [35] Rom. 1:7; Phil. 1:2.

Source of spiritual blessings and perfection. But what is striking is the naming of our Lord the Eternal High Priest, as elsewhere in the Epistle no use is made of this idea either in regard to prayer or to salvation.

If St. Polycarp had any conception of a priestly mediation of prayer it is not apparent. The title of High Priest for Christ had apparently become a fairly common one. But there are no means of knowing whether it connoted the doctrine of intercession or not. St. Polycarp's usage in this respect is very much like that of St. Ignatius with whom he was acquainted. It is also possible that the phrase *et ipse sempiternus pontifex dei filius Jesus Christus* may be an insertion of the Latin translator.

The Fragments of Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Asia Minor around 140, contain no references to intercession.

The Shepherd of Hermas was written in Rome around 148 according to the traditional date, although a good case can be made out for an earlier one around 100. Hermas is seeking to declare that sins committed after baptism up to the time of his revelation will be forgiven if a man repents.[36] He has, however, nothing to say about our Lord's High Priesthood in this connection nor His intercession for sinners. All that is necessary is to pray to God and confess one's sins.[37]

There are no references to prayers addressed to the Father through the Son, they are made directly to

[36] Vis. 2:2:4. [37] Vis. 1:1:9; Sim. 9:23:4.

God.[38] There are apparently no prayers addressed to Christ. He hardly figures at all in the course of the revelations and then as a rule only under the title of "Son of God."[39] The lack of references to the doctrine of intercession in a Roman document is striking, but fully explained by the almost complete absence of any Christological doctrine whatsoever in the revelations themselves.

The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp[40] was composed in Smyrna in 156 and has references to intercessory

[38] Vis. 1:1:9.

[39] Several reminiscences, however, are found of our Lord's statement about the confession and denial of Him (Vis. 2:2:7,8, 2:3:4; Sim. 8:8:2,4, 9:26:3,5,6, 9:28:4,7,8) and also of His support of those not ashamed to bear His Name (Sim. 8:6:4, 9:14:6). There are also many ideas in the Shepherd which are found in later Judaism, such as a heavenly being accusing men before the Lord (Vis. 1:1:5), or giving a good account of them (Vis. 3:9:10; Sim. 10:2:2); guardian angels (Sim. 10:1:2); the angels of the Presence (Sim. 9:12:8); angels as counsellors (Sim. 5:6:7); Michael as the heavenly ruler of the people (Sim. 8:3:3); angels judging men (Sim. 8:2:1-5), and in charge of repentance (Vis. 5:1:7; Sim. 8:3:5, 10:1:3). The efficacy of human intercession is several times brought out (Man. 11:1:9,14; Sim. 5:2:10), particularly that of the poor for the rich who give them alms, for the intercession of the poor has great power with God, and the alms of the rich are considered an intercession (Sim. 2:1:5-9, 5:3:7-9). The virtues of men have the power of intercession with God (Vis. 3:10:6; Man. 5:1:6). But double-mindedness (Man. 9:1:1,7,8), doubting (Man. 9:1:2,4-6), and grief (Man. 10:3:2,3) prevent the prayers of men from being granted, and only the prayers of those who serve the Lord are heard by Him (Sim. 4:1:6). Two references occur to intercessions ascending to the altar of God (Man. 10:3:2,3), but this seems to be a mere passing figure of speech, for nothing is said as to either angels or our Lord ministering at this altar and mediating the prayers.

[40] The other genuine martyr acts of the first three centuries contain no references to the intercession of our Lord, but have a number of prayers addressed to Him. In the Acts of St. Carpus, St. Papylus, and St. Agathon-

prayers,[41] to the denial of Christ,[42] and to prayers or praises addressed to our Lord by those on earth,[43] and by St. Polycarp in heaven.[44] Just before St. Polycarp was burned at the stake, he addressed a prayer to "the Lord God Almighty, Father of Thy beloved and blessed Son, Jesus Christ," which concludes "for every thing I praise Thee, I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the eternal and heavenly High Priest Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through Whom to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit, be glory both now and for ever. Amen."[45] The prayer is composed throughout in a liturgical style and is almost certainly from the hand of the author of the Martyrdom, and not of St. Polycarp. It has been seen that the belief in the High Priesthood of our Lord was known in Asia Minor as well as to St. Polycarp,[46] and here it appears again. The praises of St. Polycarp are presented as an offering to the Father by the High Priest Jesus Christ. The glory to the Son and to the Holy Spirit appear to be unmediated. No other intercession is mentioned in this Epistle except the mediation of prayer. In the conclud-

ica (160-169 in Pergamus of Asia) are found three references to prayers to our Lord (41,46,47). The Acts of St. Justin and His Companions (165 in Rome) refer to martyrdom as the confession of their Saviour and end with a doxology to Him (6). In the Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (177) there are references to the confession of Christ (I.10,48, II.3) and to intercessory prayer (II.3,5). The Acts of the Scillitan Saints (180 in Africa) contain nothing of interest for the doctrine of intercession. The Passion of St. Perpetua and St. Felicitas (203 in Carthage) contains references to intercessory prayer (15), to prayer to our Lord and His answer of it (19), doxologies to our Lord (1,21), and prayers for the dead (7).

[41] Mar. Pol. 5:1, 8:1. [42] Mar. Pol. 2:4, 9:2. [43] Mar. Pol. 20:1, 21:1.
[44] Mar. Pol. 19:2. [45] Mar. Pol. 14:1-3. [46] Pol. Phil. 12:2.

ing doxology in Mar. Pol. 20:2 it is uncertain whether our Lord is the Mediator of salvation or the glory to the Father. Either would fit in with the views elsewhere expressed. Perhaps He is thought of as both here and the phrase purposely set in between the two ideas.[47]

The so-called Second Epistle of St. Clement,[48] composed probably between 150-170 and having some connection with Corinth, is barren of references to our Lord's intercession as is also the Epistle to Diognetus, of uncertain date and origin.[49]

In the Apostolic Fathers we find no development of the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord beyond the stage reached in the New Testament, but in Rome and to a less extent in Asia Minor there is evidence that He was regarded as the Great High Priest of Christians, Who offered their prayers to the Father as the spiritual sacrifices of the new dispensation. But in these writings the doctrine of intercession is limited solely to the mediation of prayer.

[47] Παῖς used in reference to our Lord appears most often in prayer (Acts 4:27,30; 1 Clem. 59:2; Did. 9:2,3, 10:2,3; Mar. Pol. 14:3, 20:2).

[48] It contains a loose quotation of Matt. 10:32 = Luke 12:8 (2 Clem. 3:?) and several other references to the confession and denial of Christ (2 Clem. 3:1,3,4, 4:3, 17:7). Where prayer is mentioned at all it is only to the Father with no reference to the mediation of our Lord (2 Clem. 2:2, 15:3), but when it is made with a good conscience it rescues from death (2 Clem. 16:4). The author recognizes, however, the belief in the intercession of righteous men, such as Noah, Job, and Daniel, but this is ineffective if the person prayed for has not led since his baptism a pure and blameless life, full of holy and righteous works (2 Clem. 6:8,9).

[49] There are two references to the denial of the Christian faith under persecution (Diog. 7:7, 10:7), and in the opening verse the writer prays for himself and his hearers (Diog. 1:1).

CHAPTER IV

THE APOLOGISTS

The Apologists,[1] with the exception of St. Justin Martyr, were writing chiefly for pagans. They were concerned primarily with proving that the Christian God is the only One; that it is He Who created and rules the universe; and that it is through His Son that knowledge of Him is revealed. Consequently they seldom deal with the personal devotional life of Christians, as they were writing for those outside the Church.

The Apology of Quadratus, probably written in Athens around 125, was the earliest of these, and has no reference at all to prayer in the short fragment preserved by Eusebius.[2]

The Apology of Aristides, composed at Athens around 140, contains no reference to the intercession of our Lord, but it does refer to those of Christians which are addressed to God for the subsistence of the world,[3] and for the repentance of evil doers.[4]

The Oration to the Greeks of Tatian, written in Greece around 155, contains no references to prayer

[1] The Apologists are cited according to the text of E. J. Goodspeed, *Die ältesten Apologeten*, Göttingen, 1914.

[2] H. E. IV.3.2. [3] Apol. 16:6.

[4] Apol. 17:3. Prayers to God are also mentioned two other times (Apol. 15:10, 16:1).

whatsoever;[5] nor do the extant fragments of Melito, Bishop of Sardis around 170, mention intercession.

The Supplication for Christians of the Athenian Athenagoras, written around 177, refers to Christians praying for their enemies[6] and for rulers,[7] but contains no other passages about Christian prayer.

The Treatise of Theophilus to Autolycus, written in Antioch around 180, contains references to prayers for rulers,[8] and mentions Melchisedek,[9] but does not link him up with the High Priesthood of our Lord.

The Octavius of Minucius Felix, written around 210 in North Africa, contains no reference to the intercession of our Lord nor to His High Priesthood.

St. Justin Martyr, however, who wrote in Rome around the year 150, has abundant references to prayer and some very important ones to the doctrine of our Lord's heavenly intercession. The Second Apology contains only one casual reference to prayer,[10] but the First Apology and particularly the Dialogue with Trypho are full of them. However, among all these there is only one doubtful reference to prayer addressed directly to our Lord.[11]

[5] Fragments 1,6,7 contain several references to prayer, but none to intercession. [6] Sup. 11:1. [7] Sup. 37:1.

[8] I.11, III.14. There is also a reference to prayer in III.12.

[9] II.31. [10] 2 Apol. 15:4.

[11] Dial. 30:2. "The Lord," "deny His Name," and "believe on Him" all seem to suggest that the "Him" in "ask Him" must refer to Christ. Everywhere else, however, prayers are addressed to God and it may be that God is meant here, particularly as St. Justin goes on immediately to speak of "beseeching God."

There are a large number of references to the confession or denial of Christ reminiscent of His saying in the Gospels,[12] as well as to intercessory prayers, particularly those for rulers and for enemies[13] (two of the chief subjects of intercessions in most early prayers); and also for the remission of the sins of the candidates for baptism.[14] The intercessions of the ancient patriarchs are mentioned,[15] as well as those made by the presiding official in the Christian assembly[16] for the Church, to which the congregation answers "Amen."

As one would expect in writings emanating from Rome, the doctrine of the High Priesthood of our Lord occurs a number of times, but it is found only in the Dialogue with Trypho. This is significant, for it shows that the doctrine was purely Jewish in origin and one whose appeal was chiefly to Jews. A large number of the instances are connected with Melchisedek and Psalm 110:4 is cited in proof of our Lord's High Priesthood.[17] In these passages it is brought out that His High Priesthood is eternal and

[12] 1 Apol. 4:6,7, 8:1, 11:2; Dial. 35:1,2,5,7, 39:6, 47:4, 96:2, 121:2, 131:2.

[13] 1 Apol. 13:1,2, 14:3, 15:9, 17:3,4, 65:1,2; 2 Apol. 15:4; Dial. 18:3, 35:8, 93:3, 96:3, 107:2, 133:1,6. [14] 1 Apol. 61:2.

[15] Dial. 44:2, 45:3, 90:4, 140:3. St. Justin is also the first Christian writer to quote Isa. 53:12 according to the Hebrew text with its reference to the intercession of the Suffering Servant (1 Apol. 50:2), but he quotes it on other occasions according to the Septuagint with no such reference (1 Apol. 51:5; Dial 13:7), showing that he did not connect our Lord's office of Intercessor with His being the fulfillment of that ancient prophecy.

[16] 1 Apol. 67:5. [17] Dial. 19:4, 32:6, 33:1,2, 63:3, 83:2,3, 113:5, 118:1.

that it is connected with His session at God's right hand. Nothing is said about His ministration at a heavenly altar.

In none of the passages is the idea elaborated, it is merely stated and sometimes confirmed by the quotation of the Old Testament. In a number of instances the idea of the Priesthood is connected with the conception of Him as the King of glory,[18] the two offices being combined as under the Maccabees.[19] Sometimes it is mentioned in connection with His office of Judge;[20] in connection with the high priest Joshua whom the devil resisted before the angel of the Lord;[21] and sometimes alone.[22]

St. Justin, like the author of the First Epistle of St. Peter,[23] speaks of Christians as priests offering to God well-pleasing and pure sacrifices,[24] and these sacrifices, which were predicted before by Malachi,[25] are prayers and thanksgivings[26] and the Eucharist, which is offered through Christ's Name.[27] As in the other early Christian writings prayer is considered the true sacrifice acceptable to God.

There are also several places where prayers are mentioned as being presented through our Lord. He is the High Priest Who offers to God the spiritual sacrifices of the prayers of the people, even when He is

[18] Dial. 34:2, 36:1, 86:3, 96:1, 113:5, 118:2.
[19] See Appendix B.
[20] Dial. 36:1.
[21] Dial. 115:2-4.
[22] Dial. 42:1, 116:1.
[23] 1 Pet. 2:9.
[24] Dial. 116:3.
[25] Mal. 1:11.
[26] Dial. 29:1, 117:2,4, 118:2.
[27] Dial. 117:1.

designated as the King of glory and Lord of powers.[28] And in Dial. 117:5 it is said that the heathen do not offer prayers and thanksgivings to God through the Name of the crucified Jesus, which implies that Christians do, and that the mediation is effected through the naming of our Lord at the end of the prayer.[29]

There are two unusual references to offering thanks to God through the Son and the Holy Spirit, which occur in the sections dealing with Christian worship. The first occurs in the description of the Eucharist, where the presiding official takes the bread and wine and "offers up praise and glory to the Father of the universe through the Name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit."[30] The second one comes in a short description of the Christian life, where it is said that Christians "bless the Maker of all through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit."[31]

No reference to the Holy Spirit as the Mediator of prayer has been met with before, and it must be something else that is meant here. Throughout his writings St. Justin regularly regards the Holy Spirit as

[28] Dial. 29:1. This interpretation is made certain by the fact that St. Justin thinks of Christ only as exalted in heaven, and not as immanent in believers, and hence διά must be instrumental.

[29] In Dial. 30:3 it is not absolutely certain whether "through Jesus Christ" goes with "beseech" or "be kept." From its position and the following sentences it is more probable that they are beseeching God that they may be preserved from demons through the power coming from Christ, rather than offering their prayer to God through our Lord.

[30] 1 Apol. 65:3.

[31] 1 Apol. 67:2. Cf. also St. Clement of Alexandria (Quis Div. 42:20) and Origen (Gen. Hom. 2:6).

the Inspirer of prophecy and the Authenticator of the Holy Scriptures. These two passages must be an extension of that usage. The Holy Spirit is here the Inspirer of Christian prayer as He is in the Epistles of St. Paul, who also believed in our Lord's intercession. Διά is consequently used in an instrumental causal sense.

We then see two ideas combined into one formula in St. Justin. Christian prayer is inspired through the agency of the Spirit and offered to the Father through the agency of the Son. Each of the Persons of the Trinity has His proper function in the divine economy of prayer, although St. Justin in no wise emphasizes or even elaborates this idea.

In St. Justin Martyr the doctrine of the Logos is very prominent and we have as well the High Priesthood of our Lord, although the two are never specifically connected together. It is, however, the continuation of the Logos-High Priest tradition which started with Philo, came down through the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews to him, and was to continue on to its full fruition in Origen.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN APOCRYPHAL LITERATURE

An immense amount of literature has come down to us from the early days of the Church under the names of the Holy Family or the Twelve Apostles or other early disciples of our Lord.[1] Many of these are full of heretical teaching, but they do in a large measure reflect the popular Christianity of their day.

The earliest of these documents is the so-called Apocalypse of St. Peter written around 120 and in all probability having some connection with Rome. In the Ethiopic Fragment of this work St. Peter appeals to our Lord to have mercy on the sinners and He tells him that He will do so and that the prayers of those who believe on Him will save men. This is the first instance of the belief in the salvation of all men through the prayers of the righteous. One can not be sure, however, that the Ethiopic text has not suffered from later interpolation.[2]

[1] Citations are made according to M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924.

[2] There are references also to children untimely born and exposed to death who accuse their parents before Christ (Methodius of Olympus, *Symposium* 2:6), and to angels who bring forward the sins of men (Ethiopic Fragment).

The Book of St. James was composed in the first half of the second century and the Gospel according to St. Thomas sometime in the second half of the same century, but they contain no references to the intercession of our Lord; neither do any of the fragments of the early apocryphal Gospels nor any of the sayings of our Lord not recorded in the four canonical Gospels, nor does the Ascension of Isaiah, a Jewish work with Christian additions, dating from the first quarter of the third century, nor yet the Sayings of Sextus, a Christianized heathen work of the same period.

The Epistle of the Apostles originated in Asia Minor around 160 and exists to-day only in Ethiopic and in a Coptic and a Latin fragment. It does not appear to have had a very wide circulation in the Church. There is one reminiscence of our Lord's statement about confessing and denying Him.[3] The Epistle ends with a prayer of the angels to our Lord: "Gather us, O Priest, unto the light of the majesty,"[4] and reference is made earlier in the Epistle to the archangels ministering at the altar of the Father while Christ sojourned on earth.[5] This seems to imply that it was one of our Lord's heavenly functions. The most that can be said is that the writer was acquainted with the doctrine of the High Priesthood of our Lord, but he nowhere draws out its consequences for prayer.

[3] Ep. Apos. 39. There are also references to prayers to our Lord (Ep. Apos. 12,40,51), and He promises to hear the prayer of the righteous. These latter also pray to the Father in behalf of sinners (Ep. Apos. 40).

[4] Ep. Apos. 51. [5] Ep. Apos. 13.

The five early Apocryphal Acts which were formed into a corpus by the Manichaeans and later attributed to Leucius were written during the second and third centuries, probably all in Asia Minor. The Acts of St. John date from around 145, the Acts of St. Paul around 160, the Acts of St. Peter around 200, and the Acts of St. Andrew and the Acts of St. Thomas from the first and second halves of the third century respectively. They all abound in instances of prayers addressed to our Lord, Who is usually referred to as God.[6] It is particularly curious to find the prayers at the Eucharist addressed to Him.[7] At the time of its celebration intercessions were made, but they do not seem to be connected in any way with His death as a sacrifice.[8]

The Acts contain numerous intercessory prayers, many of which are for healing and for forgiveness and salvation,[9] and a few of which are for evil against others.[10] There is an occasional indication that the answer to intercessory prayer is morally conditioned on the attitude of the person prayed for, since in one

[6] Acts John 18,21,22,24,39,40,41,43,64,75,77-79,82,85,94,96,XV, XVIII,108,109,112-115; Acts Paul 29,42,I; Acts Pet. 1,2,4,5,10,11,17,18, 20-22,26,28,39; Acts And. 12,20; Acts Tho. 3,10,19,25,30,47-49,53,54, 59-61,65,67,80,97,98,107,117,133,135,144-148,153,156,158,161,167,170.

[7] Acts John 85,109; Acts Pet. 5; Acts And. 20; Acts Tho. 29,49,133,158.

[8] Acts John 110; Acts And. 20; Acts Tho. 29,49,158. In Acts Pet. 2 the Eucharist itself is referred to as the Sacrifice.

[9] Acts John 22,24,40,41,45,51,55,75,XVII,XVIII,XX,XXI,108,110; Acts Paul 23,24,28-31,41,I; Acts Pet. 2,4,10,21,22,26-28; Acts And. 4, 7-9,12,15,18,20,22,24,28,35,38,XII; Acts Tho. 9,10,16,24,25,29,30,43,47-49,53,54,60,61,67,68,81,87,88,136,139,141,156-158,161,170.

[10] Acts John 39; Acts Pet. 22,32.

instance[11] it is stated that the king's unkindness obstructs the apostle's prayers.[12]

The apostles, due to their close relationship to our Lord, are looked upon as having special powers of intercession not only for the forgiveness of sins and for salvation, but also for earthly boons, and their prayers are frequently requested by men,[13] as was done once in the canonical Acts.[14] There is also the incident recorded of Lycomedes' picture of St. John which he had crowned with garlands, and before which he had placed lamps and altars.[15] This testifies to the growing veneration of the saints; as does the incident of St. Luke and St. Titus praying at the grave of St. Paul.[16]

There are a few instances of prayers for the dead. The martyr St. Thecla prays for the deceased Falconilla, at the request of her mother Queen Tryphaena, that she may be translated to the place of the righteous and live for ever,[17] and St. Andrew prays that the deceased Nicolaus may rest in peace.[18] These are both prayers for their salvation.

Throughout these Acts to all intents and purposes the sole God of the Christians is Jesus Christ. To Him

[11] Acts And. 15.

[12] Several old Jewish beliefs are also found: those of guardian angels (Acts John XVII); of the fathers in heaven, with whom St. Paul converses in prayer in Hebrew (Acts Paul V); and of men accusing their fellow men before God (Acts Tho. 148).

[13] Acts John 55,XVII,XVIII; Acts Pet. 10,21; Acts And. 22,38,XII; Acts Tho. 9,24,43,54,87,141.

[14] Acts 8:24. [15] Acts John 27. [16] Acts Paul V,VII.

[17] Acts Paul 28,29. [18] Acts And. 28.

are assigned all the attributes commonly belonging to the Father. Hence there is no room nor any need for a doctrine of His High Priesthood or intercession, and the term is never applied to Him, although the belief was known in Asia Minor at this time, as has been seen.

There are, however, a few possible instances of prayer being offered through Jesus Christ. The first one occurs in a prayer addressed to the Lord Jesus Christ, which ends "and make these men believe in Thee the unbegotten Father, through Thine only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, with the Holy Ghost the Illuminator and Sanctifier of the whole Church, world without end."[19] It is more than probable that the belief is here represented as coming through the Son and not the prayer being offered by Him.

However in Acts Pet. 2 there is a real instance of St. Paul praying to the Father "through Thy Son Jesus Christ." In Acts Pet. XXVII "that we may through Thee ask and obtain" grammatically refers to the Father and it is He that is probably meant rather than the Son. The one genuine instance is hard to account for on any other grounds than that the common liturgical practice of the Church has here influenced the language attributed to St. Paul. But neither this, nor the reference in Acts Tho. 102 to believing "in Jesus Who makes a defence on behalf of us all," is sufficient to establish any doctrine of the intercession of our Lord in the Apocryphal Acts.

[19] Acts John XIV.

CHAPTER VI

THE EARLY FATHERS

St. Irenaeus brings to a close the New Testament and Apostolic period and is the first of the great Catholic Fathers. He was brought up in Asia Minor, had visited Rome, and was Bishop of Lyons when he wrote his great work "Against Heresies" around 185.[1] There are as usual references to intercessory prayer,[2] and also to Christ's praying on earth for the forgiveness of the sins of His enemies,[3] but there are no certain passages in which prayer is addressed to Christ.[4]

St. Irenaeus has several reminiscences of our Lord's statement about confessing and denying Him,[5] and he also actually repeats in his own words Christ's statement as found in St. Luke.[6] He therefore held a judicial view of our Lord's intercession, the naming to the

[1] The citations of St. Irenaeus are made according to the notation of Massuet (except for the Fragments, which are cited according to Harvey), although the text of W. W. Harvey, *S. Irenaei Episcopi Lugdunensis Libros quinque adversus Haereses*, Cambridge, 1857, has been followed throughout.

[2] Adv. Haer. II:31:2, 32:1; III:12:13, 18:5, 25:7; IV:31:1; Frag. 31.

[3] Adv. Haer. III:16:9, 18:5.

[4] In Adv. Haer. II:32:5 the reference is merely to *nomen domini nostri Iesu Christi invocans*, and in Adv. Haer. V:3:1 he is quoting St. Paul (2 Cor. 12:8).

[5] Adv. Haer. I:24:4; III:9:1, 18:4,5.

[6] Luke 12:8,9, 9:26 (Adv. Haer. III:18:5).

Father of those who were His and therefore partakers of the fruits of His redemption. He also applies Psalm 2:8 to our Lord,[7] believing that Christ will receive from the Father as members of His Kingdom those for whom He asks.[8]

Not only does St. Irenaeus have a judicial view of our Lord's intercession, but also a priestly[9] conception as well,[10] for he pictures Him as mediating prayers to the Father.[11] He refers to the advent of His Kingdom as a priestly one and to His being clothed in heaven in a priestly garment, so interpreting Rev. 1:13.[12] He also refers to the fact that Christ propitiates God for men.[13]

[7] Adv. Haer. IV:21:3.

[8] It is worth noticing that St. Irenaeus is the first to quote Rom. 8:34 and that when he does, he stops short of the phrase, "Who also makes intercession for us," as he is merely interested in the passage as emphasizing the reality of Christ's death (Adv. Haer. III:16:9).

[9] Adv. Haer. III:11:8; IV:8:2; Frag. 17; Frag. Syr. 30,31.

[10] It is worth noting that in the two prayers recorded in his writings (Adv. Haer. III:6:4, 25:7), neither of them ends with "through Jesus Christ"; and also that it is God Who offers Christ as a Sacrifice, and not our Lord Himself (Adv. Haer. IV:5:4); and that Christ is pictured as forgiving sins, both while He was on earth (Adv. Haer. IV:33:2), and while in the regions below the earth (Adv. Haer. IV:27:2).

[11] There is a curious expression in Adv. Haer. IV:17:6 where it reads: "But what other name is there which is glorified among the Gentiles, than that of our Lord, through Whom the Father is glorified, and man also?" The Latin translation is possibly corrupt here. The first part would seem to mean that praise is offered to God through the mediation of our Lord, but the final clause makes no theological sense, unless it is to be interpreted in an entirely different way, that man is made glorious through the Name of Christ, that is, by becoming a Christian he is saved.

[12] Adv. Haer. IV:20:11. [13] Adv. Haer. IV:8:2; V:17:1.

St. Irenaeus applies Psalm 8:2 to our Lord. He is looked on as bringing to perfection the praise offered to the Father by babes and sucklings. Their incomplete and inadequate praise is made sufficient by being offered through Him.[14] He regards both the Eucharist[15] and Christian prayers as the sacrifices of the Church, and believes that the prayers of the saints are the same as the offering of incense, which is symbolic of them.[16] These are the pure sacrifices which were predicted by Malachi,[17] and they are presented upon a heavenly altar.[18]

This new eucharistic oblation of the new covenant is made by the Church through Jesus Christ.[19] As he also states that every righteous king possesses a priestly order, and that the apostles of the Lord are priests,[20] he apparently thought of the Eucharist being offered here on earth by priests and presented to the Father in heaven by His Son the Great High Priest.

It is true, however, that although the early Christians thought of themselves as priests, the name was not at first specifically connected with the elders, nor with any of the other orders of the ministry. St. Irenaeus is the first writer in whom the idea emerges. The reason why ἱερεύς was probably not used was the dislike of Judaism and its priestly system and the

[14] Adv. Haer. IV:11:3. This interpretation is based on the text of the Septuagint which differs here from the Hebrew.

[15] Adv. Haer. IV:17:5, 18:1,4; Frag. 36.

[16] Adv. Haer. IV:17:6; Frag. 36.

[17] Mal. 1:11.

[18] Adv. Haer. IV:18:6.

[19] Adv. Haer. IV:17:6.

[20] Adv. Haer. IV:8:3.

disfavour in which the heathen priests were held; and secondly, the fact that Christ was looked upon as the sole Mediator between God and men. It was in a sense the doctrine of our Lord's High Priesthood, through which alone the priestly functions of the Church's ministers were performed, that allowed them to think of their ministers as priests. Just as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Christ, as High Priest, offers Himself continually to the Father as a Sacrifice, so every Eucharist comes to be looked upon as the enactment on earth of that act which is performed in heaven, the earthly priests offering the Sacrifice to the Father through their heavenly High Priest.

It can at once be seen that the doctrine of our Lord's intercession appears in both its judicial and its priestly conceptions, but that it does not occupy a prominent place in St. Irenaeus's thought, nor is it needed in his system of doctrine, for there salvation, which is immortality or the becoming divine, is attained by union with Christ in baptism and the partaking of His Body and Blood in the Eucharist. We do have, consequently, for the first time, the Eucharist regarded as the true Christian sacrifice offered to God on the heavenly altar by our Lord as High Priest. Traces of a sacrificial view of the Eucharist may be found earlier, but it is St. Irenaeus's original contribution to connect it with our Lord's High Priesthood. Nothing, however, is said about intercessions accompanying its offering.

Tertullian is the first great writer of the Latin Church.[21] He spent part of his early life in Rome, but later returned to Carthage. Around 205 he wrote a treatise for catechumens "On Prayer," the earliest work of its kind to come down to us. It contains nothing about the High Priesthood of our Lord, nor His intercession for men, nor is the phrase "through Jesus Christ" quoted in connection with any of the prayers. Nor do any of these figure prominently elsewhere in Tertullian's writings.

In Adv. Marc. IV:9, however, he says that man offers prayer and thanksgiving in the Church through Christ Jesus, the Universal Priest of the Father, showing that he did have some knowledge of the doctrine, possibly gained during his residence in Rome. And in a work of his Montanistic period, De Pudicitia 19, he twice speaks of Christ as a Suppliant (*Exorator*) of the Father concerning the sins of men, in commenting on various verses in the First Epistle of St. John having to do with sins, among which he cites 1 John 2:1.

On the other hand Christians are regarded as the true priests offering upon His altar to God, Who is Spirit, prayer in the Spirit, which is a sacrifice well-pleasing to Him.[22] The Eucharist is looked upon also as a sacrifice.[23] But these expressions are with him

[21] Tertullian is cited according to the edition of A. Reifferscheid, G. Wissowa, and A. Kroymann in the *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna, 1890-1906.

[22] De Oratione 28. [23] De Oratione 19.

hardly more than metaphors and part of the common liturgical language of the Church.

Prayer is thought of as a mighty force for good, being offered directly to the Father without any mediation. Not only are men spoken of as praying, but also angels and every creature, animal, and bird pray.[24] Mention is also made of the prayers of the martyrs in heaven for vengeance.[25] And there are two references to praise being offered to Christ.[26] Prayer to Tertullian is a simple speaking with the Father, although its effectiveness is increased when accompanied by good works such as fasting and the kiss of peace.[27] No intercession is needed on the part of man to obtain its hearing, other than the fact that he is a Christian living a life of righteousness.

Some reference to our Lord as heavenly Advocate might be expected in Tertullian who had been a lawyer, but this idea plays no part of importance in his theology. His main interest is in ethics. Hence good works, both of a moral and religious nature, are to him the chief recommendation to God for the hearing of prayer.

St. Hippolytus[28] was Counterbishop of Rome in the first quarter of the third century. At the end of the first part of his Commentary on Daniel[29] he speaks of

[24] De Oratione 29. [25] De Oratione 5.
[26] De Oratione 14,29. [27] De Oratione 18.
[28] Hippolytus is cited according to the edition of G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1897-1929.
[29] Dan. Com. 1:33.

men singing praises to God through Christ.[30] In the Refutation[31] he also mentions the fact that the Gnostic Valentinus, who flourished in Rome around A.D. 150, refers to Jesus as the Great High Priest.

The so-called Egyptian Church Order has been shown to be the work of St. Hippolytus.[32] It exists today in slightly variant forms in Latin, Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. It contains, among other prayers, the earliest known form of the eucharistic consecration prayer, which the newly made bishop is to say after his consecration. This has reference to our Lord's mediation of prayer. After the *Sursum Corda* it begins (following the Latin version): "We give thanks to Thee through Thy beloved Son[33] Jesus Christ."[34] It ends with an elaborate doxology: "that we may praise and glorify Thee; through Thy Son Jesus Christ, through Whom to Thee be glory and honour, to the Father and the Son with the Holy Spirit, in Thy holy Church, both now and for evermore. Amen."[35]

There are other doxologies at the end of prayers offered to God through Jesus Christ[36] and several times praise or thanksgiving is said to be offered to the

[30] Doxologies addressed to Christ are found in Dan. Com. 1:33,4:60.

[31] Ref. VI:32:2.

[32] R. H. Connolly, *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order*, Cambridge, 1916.

[33] The original Greek here and in the following quotation probably read παιδός.

[34] 31:7. The citations are made according to the translation of E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*[2], Tübingen, 1924, pp. 574-583.

[35] 31:12. [36] 31:5, 32:3, 33:2, 47:4, 53:1.

Father through Him.[37] God is referred to as "Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," a possible indirect appeal to the merits of Christ.[38] The doctrine of our Lord's mediation of prayer is found, then, in our oldest liturgical documents and shows that the conception was held even where no specific connection is made with any doctrine of His High Priesthood.[39]

St. Clement of Alexandria,[40] the first of the Christian Platonists, wrote most of his great works in the last decade of the second and the first decade of the third century. The seventh book of his Stromateis is largely given up to the subject of prayer. The life of the true Gnostic, according to him, is one long continued prayer[41] and his prayer is answered because he prays in accordance with God's will,[42] for it is through prayer that God is honoured.[43] Prayer is looked upon as the true sacrifice,[44] and incense is used metaphorically for it,[45] and both the congregation[46] and the individual soul are looked upon as the altar from

[37] 32:3, 33:2, 47:4, 53:1. Also 31:5 where the phrase "a sweet-smelling savour" is undoubtedly to be interpreted as "praise."

[38] 31:2, 32:2, 33:2.

[39] The liturgical papyrus of Der-Balyzeh is of uncertain date, although not later than the fourth century. It does not contain any references to our Lord's mediation of prayer, although one has been supplied by an unlikely conjectural reading.

[40] St. Clement of Alexandria is cited according to the edition of O. Stählin in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1905-1909.

[41] Strom. VI:102:1; VII:35:1, 40:3, 49:7, 73:1.

[42] Strom. VII:41:3,4. [43] Strom. VII:31:7.

[44] Strom. II:96:3; VII:31:7, 32:4, 43:8, 49:4; Frag. 24.

[45] Strom. VII:32:4,5, 43:8. [46] Strom. VII:31:8.

which prayers arise.[47] The true Gnostic is both the truly kingly man and the sacred priest of God.[48]

Intercessory prayer is several times mentioned,[49] including prayers of our Lord for His disciplies while on earth.[50] Reference is also made to the prayers of angels[51] and to their help,[52] and there are several passages where the prayers of righteous Christians are mentioned as being peculiarly effective with God.[53] There are almost no references, if any, to prayers addressed to our Lord throughout the whole of St. Clement's writings. Once we find a prayerful wish addressed to Christ,[54] and there is a curious reference about praying the Spirit of Christ to wing him to his Jerusalem.[55] There are also two hymns and one prayer attributed to St. Clement which are addressed to our Lord and which are commonly printed at the end of the Paedagogus. It is, however, quite plain that with St. Clement all prayer was properly addressed to the Father.

St. Clement has two sayings of our Lord about prayer which are not found in the canonical Gospels. The first is also found in an expanded form in Origen:[56] "Ask for the great things, and the little things shall

[47] Strom. VII:32:5. [48] Strom. VII:36:2.

[49] Strom. II:66:4, 90:1; IV:95:1; VI:77:3; VII:62:3, 81:4,5, 84:5; Quis Div. 34:3, 35:1, 40:6, 41:5,6, 42:15; Frag. 44.

[50] Strom. IV:74:4; VII:41:7.

[51] Strom. VII:39:3, 78:6. [52] Strom. VII:81:3.

[53] Strom. VI:29:3; VII:78:6, 81:4,5; Quis Div. 34:3, 41:5,6, 42:15.

[54] Quis Div. 4:1. [55] Strom. IV:172:2.

[56] Ora. 2:2, 14:1. Cf. also Ora. 16:2, 33:1.

be added unto you."[57] The second one is found in Strom. VI:78:1, 101:4; VII:73:1 and reads: "Ask and I will give thee: think and I will do it." In both of these sayings God receives and answers prayers directly.

There are also several reminiscences of our Lord's saying about confessing and denying Him[58] which are specifically connected with martyrdom. In Strom. IV:70:1-75:4 the gospel saying is both quoted and expounded, not however in regard to our Lord's heavenly activity, but in respect to the confession by men of Him, which should be one both of word and of deed. Nothing is made of the judicial strain in our Lord's heavenly intercession and it can not be said to form any integral part of St. Clement's theology. Our Lord is once called Paraclete or Advocate,[59] where *παράκλητος* is combined with *συνήγορος*, showing that it is used in the legal sense of an advocate pleading for one, but the idea is not further amplified; it is merely an incidental reference. But in a comment on 1 John 2:1 the term *consolator* is employed instead of *advocatus*, showing clearly that St. Clement held no doctrine of Christ as a heavenly Advocate (Frag. 24).

There are a number of references throughout St. Clement to our Lord as the Great High Priest,[60] but

[57] Strom. I:158:2. [58] Strom. IV:28:4, 42:3-5, 70:1-75:4, 83:2-84:2, 95:3.
[59] Quis Div. 25:7.
[60] It is curious that the Stoics are mentioned as attributing, among a long list of other offices, those of kingship, priesthood, and prophecy to the wise man (Strom. II:19:4), the same three which became in later theology the traditional heavenly activity of our Lord.

in almost every instance the idea is not elaborated, nor does the term seem to have any real significance in connection with the passage. It appears to be merely a common title of Christ without any particular meaning.[61] The ideas of High Priesthood and Kingship are twice combined,[62] and Melchisedek is cited as His antitype,[63] offering bread and wine as a symbol of the Eucharist.[64]

There are, however, some passages where prayer and praise are said to be offered to the Father through the Word,[65] but in every one of these it is prayer inspired by the Word as the higher reason, and not prayer offered to the Father by the historical Christ as the High Priest. This is strengthened by such a passage as Strom. VI:88:4, where in a musical metaphor the inspiration of the Word is mentioned, and also Strom. II:45:7 where the High Priest as the Word is the illuminating reason which enables men to see what is good and right, and thus serve God acceptably. In Strom. II:134:2 the praise is offered to the Father through a life lived in accordance with right reason. Furthermore in Strom. VI:153:4 the High Priest is looked upon as the Mediator of creation.

However in Paed. I:47:3,4 we have the Word spoken of as an Intercessor, in connection with a reference to Abel's blood crying from the ground,[66]

[61] Pro. 120:2; Strom. II:45:7, 134:2; IV:151:3; VI:153:4; VII:9:2, 13:2, 45:3. [62] Strom. II:21:4; IV:161:3.
[63] Strom. II:21:4, 136:2; IV:161:3. [64] Strom. IV:161:3.
[65] Pro. 116:4; Strom. II:134:2; VII:31:7, 35:1. [66] Gen. 4:10.

where the whole point of the identification in the metaphor depends upon the Word being looked upon as such. And also in Quis Div. 42:20 the doxology is offered to the Father through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Spirit, where we possibly have our Lord mediating prayer.[67]

There is also one other passage[68] where our Lord is pictured as presenting to the Father those who believe on Him, to be admitted to eternal salvation and to join the choir of men, angels, and the Word who sing hymns to the Father. This eternal Jesus, the one Great High Priest of His one God and Father, prays on behalf of men. In this passage we have both the judicial and priestly strains combined. There is no doubt that here we do find the doctrine of the heavenly intercession of our Lord.

The Protrepticus is St. Clement's earliest work, and it may be that at this time he held such a doctrine, but later abandoned it, while still retaining the

[67] The exact meaning of "and through the Holy Spirit" is uncertain, as He is not commonly referred to as the Mediator, but the Inspirer of prayer. The διά is in all probability used in an instrumental causal sense here, picturing the Holy Spirit as inspiring the praise. It may possibly be so used also in connection with the Son, for a change of usage in parallel clauses in the same sentence is unlikely. However, the Son as the Inspirer of the praise does not make much sense in the passage, although it seems to be in keeping with St. Clement's usual view of the function, in prayer, of our Lord conceived as the Word. A similar passage has already been found twice in St. Justin Martyr (1 Apol. 65:3, 67:2) and another occurs later in Origen (Gen. Hom. 2:6), both of whom also emphasized the doctrine of the Son as the Word of God. [68] Pro. 120:1,2.

terminology. This seems the most probable explanation of why later he still speaks of the Word as the High Priest mediating prayers, when all he means is the higher reason assisting man's own reason in prayer. This is all the more likely when one remembers how fond he is of literary allusions.[69]

With Origen,[70] the greater pupil of a great master, St. Clement, this investigation may well come to a close. For in him we find the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord occupying an integral and important part in his theology. He may have learned of this doctrine from St. Clement, but it seems more likely that he acquired it from a fresh study of Philo and the Epistle to the Hebrews. He expounds it chiefly in his treatise "On Prayer," composed in Caesarea around 233, and his great polemical work "Against Celsus," which was also written there around the year 248. "On Prayer" is by far the most detailed and illuminating work on this subject which the Church produced in the early centuries of its existence, and it is still of estimable theological and devotional value.

[69] That the doctrine of the High Priesthood of our Lord was known in Egypt at this time is further proved by a second, or at the latest, third-century papyrus from Middle Egypt, containing a prayer which ends "through the High Priest of our souls, Jesus Christ, through Whom to Thee be glory and honour and power for ever. Amen." (C. Schmidt in *Neutestamentliche Studien für Georg Heinrici*, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 68, 77).

[70] Origen is cited according to the edition of P. Koetschau, E. Klostermann, E. Preuschen, and W. A. Baehrens in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1899-1930.

Toward the end of this treatise[71] Origen describes the four main parts of a prayer, every one of which is to be found in the Scriptures, and according to which model every prayer should be composed:

First, in the prologue of the prayer one should have doxologies to God through Christ, Who is glorified and praised together with Him in the Holy Spirit. And after this each one should arrange the common thanksgivings, mentioning in them the benefits received from God by others, and those which he himself has received. And after the thanksgiving, it seems to me, one should become a bitter accuser of one's own sins before God: first, to ask for healing in order to be set free from the habit which leads to sin; and secondly, for forgiveness of the transgressions. And fourthly, after the confession it appears to me that one should unite in requesting great and heavenly things, both for oneself and the whole world, and for relations and friends. And in addition to all of these, the prayer should be closed with a doxology to God through Christ in the Holy Spirit.

A Christian prayer,[72] then, opens with thanksgiving, goes on to confession and intercession, and closes with praise. Christian prayer is inspired by the Holy Spirit[73] and it is offered to the Father through His Son the Great High Priest.[74]

[71] Ora. 33:1.

[72] Prayer and a righteous life are considered as the way to honour God (Cels. 3:34). He is worshipped as well as His Son by prayers and supplications (Cels. 8:13), and mention is made of the sacrifice of praise (Lev. Hom. 2:5).

[73] The Holy Spirit as the Inspirer of prayer is as early as St. Paul, the first to have anything like a comprehensive view of His activity, and in the Apostolic Fathers He is associated with the Father and the Son as the Recipient of doxologies. [74] Ora. 33:6.

In this treatise Origen is quite emphatic that prayer is to be offered to the Father alone. Of the four kinds of prayer mentioned in 1 Tim. 2:1 intercession (ἔντευξις) and thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) may be offered to men, and these two and petition (δέησις) may be offered to saints and to our Lord, but prayer (προσευχή) may be offered to no creature at all, not even to Christ, but only to God alone.[75] This is what our Lord Himself both did and taught, particularly when He gave men the Lord's Prayer. But in Origen's later writings, however, there are one or two isolated examples of prayers to our Lord,[76] and there are a large number of doxologies addressed to Him at the end of treatises and prayers.[77] In fact, Origen says that one should also pray and make intercessions and offer thanksgivings and supplications to the Word Himself, if one has the capacity of distinguishing between the proper use and abuse of prayer.[78]

Our Lord is chiefly looked upon by Origen as the High Priest through Whom alone prayers are to be

[75] Ora. 14:2,6, 15:1,4, 16:1. The same point of view is expressed also in Cels. 5:5, 7:51, 8:37.

[76] Lev. Hom. 11:3; Luke Hom. 6 (Latin); Judg. Hom. 8:5; Ezek. Hom. 12:5 (along with the Father); Cels. 5:4,11. In Cels. 8:26 the prayer to our Lord seems to be only to ask Him to present the petitioner's prayer to God.

[77] Homilies on 1 Sam. 28:3-25 and on Jeremiah, as well as Luke Hom. 6 (Latin),26,36,39; Lev. Hom. 2:5, 6:6, 8:11, 9:11, 10:2, 11:3, 12:7, 14:4, 15:3, 16:7; Isa. Hom. 3:3; Ezek. Hom. 10:5; Josh. Hom. 17:3, 21:2; etc.

[78] Cels. 5:4.

offered to the Father.[79] This title is taken for granted as an accepted one in the Church, and it is frequently used where no mention is made of the mediation of prayer or salvation.[80] Our Lord's High Priesthood is often compared to that of Melchisedek,[81] but the Epistle to the Hebrews is only occasionally cited in support of the conception.[82] One reason why the High Priesthood of our Lord is so prominent in Origen is that he held strongly a doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the Father and emphasized the exclusive properties of the Supreme God.

Several times the titles of High Priest and Paraclete are joined together, thus uniting the non-priestly and priestly conceptions of our Lord's intercession.[83] Furthermore 1 John 2:2 is also brought into connection with our Lord's High Priesthood. In Cels. 8:13 prayers are mentioned as being presented to the Son, Who is besought as the Propitiation for the sins of men and as the High Priest to offer their prayers, sacrifices, and intercessions to the Supreme God. This connection is again brought out in Isa. Hom. 1:5,

[79] Ora. 10:2, 11:1, 15:4, 28:9; Pro. 30; Num. Hom. 23:4; Cant. Com. I; John Com. 2:34, 13:24, 19:19, 28:1; Lev. Hom. 5:12; Isa. Hom. 1:5; Cels. 3:34, 5:4, 7:46, 8:13,26,34,36.

[80] Num. Hom. 9:5,7, 10:2, 11:4,5,7; John Com. 1:2, 28:12; Lev. Hom. 1:3, 6:2, 7:1, 9:5,8,9, 12:3,7.

[81] Num. Hom. 23:4; John Com. 1:2, 13:24, 19:19; Gen. Hom. 8:9; Lev. Hom. 9:2, 12:1,4; Josh. Hom. 26:3.

[82] Num. Hom. 3:3; John Com. 1:2; Lev. Hom. 1:3, 4:6, 7:2, 9:2.

[83] Ora. 10:2, 15:4; John Com. 2:34.

where, in addition, it is said that Christ, Who is the Propitiation for the sins of Christians, is as High Priest in the midst of the Christian community when it prays, and that He offers their prayers to the Father, that is, that Christians offer their sacrifices through Him. This is a unique passage, bringing Matt. 18:20, 1 John 2:2, and the ideas of the Epistle to the Hebrews into connection with one another. And in Josh. Hom. 26:3 the passage 1 Pet. 2:5 is interpreted as Christ's High Priestly offering of the prayers of Christians to the Father. It can easily be seen that Origen interprets Biblical passages susceptible of an intercessory meaning in terms of his doctrine of the High Priesthood of our Lord.

In Fragment 22 of the Homily on St. Luke, while commenting on the Transfiguration, Origen says of Christ: "Regard Him as the very Word Himself and as the High Priest, communing with and praying to the Father." And although these two ways of regarding our Lord are seldom brought into verbal connection, yet there is no doubt that, as in Philo and in the Epistle to the Hebrews, the two were closely connected; and that our Lord, as the Word, not only revealed God's will to men, but also it was through Him that men made known their wishes unto God. Christ is intermediate between the nature of the Unbegotten and the nature of all begotten things, and hence is the proper Person as High Priest to convey

the prayers of men to the Supreme God and to bestow on them the benefits which come from the Father.[84] He is also spoken of as praying along with men and as interceding for them.[85]

Our Lord as High Priest is conceived not only as receiving the alms of men as first-fruits,[86] but also as offering to the Father the spiritual first-fruits of men, that is, love and other such virtues.[87] He is also mentioned as High Priest, standing in the midst of the dying and the living and interceding for them.[88]

Not very often is our Lord's High Priesthood brought into connection with the offering of Himself as a Sacrifice, but it does occur,[89] and in Gen. Hom. 8:9 He is called both High Priest and Victim. The priests, of whom Christ is the High Priest, offer themselves as sacrifices.[90] These are the martyrs. In another passage[91] the apostles are spoken of as priests after the order of the Great High Priest, a view which later found expression in the Catholic theory of the ministry. The guardian angels of men are said to offer up their prayers for them to the God of the universe through the One High Priest.[92] All prayer

[84] Cels. 3:34. In Cels. 5:5 men are taught to pray to the Supreme God, Who is sufficient for all things, through our Saviour, the Son of God, Who is Word and Wisdom and Truth. See also Ora. 10:2.

[85] Ora. 11:1; Num. Hom. 3:3; Lev. Hom. 1:3, 7:2.

[86] Num. Hom. 11:3. [87] Num. Hom. 11:8. [88] Josh. Hom. 26:3.

[89] Pro. 30; Num. Hom. 9:5, 10:2; John Com. 6:53, 19:19; Lev. Hom. 7:2; Josh. Hom. 26:3. [90] Pro. 30.

[91] Ora. 28:9. [92] Cels. 8:36.

then is offered to Christ as High Priest to be presented by Him as a sacrifice to the Father.[93]

Our Lord's mediation of prayer is also spoken of without mention of His High Priesthood,[94] but this by no means implies that the concept does not lie behind the mediation.[95] Furthermore He as the Word prays for the saints.[96] It is also made clear that all prayer to the Father must be offered through the Son,[97] and John 16:23,24 is brought forth in proof of this. In other words, prayer offered in Christ's Name is interpreted by Origen as meaning the same thing as prayer mediated by Christ to the Father.

Not only is His mediation of prayer spoken of, but also that of angels. They bear the prayers of men to God[98] and God's benefits to men.[99] The various angels are assigned different protective and other duties in regard to men, Michael being entrusted with the task of attending to their prayers and supplications.[100] Both the guardian angels and angels in general are

[93] John Com. 19:19; Cels. 8:13.

[94] Ora. 15:2, 16:1; Gen. Hom. 15:7; Lev. Hom. 1:5, 2:5, 3:8, 4:10, 7:7; Cels. 5:5, 8:37.

[95] In Gen. Hom. 2:6, which is found only in Rufinus's Latin translation, prayer is there said to be offered to the Father *per Christum dominum nostrum et per spiritum suum sanctum*. This passage is similar to those in St. Justin Martyr (1 Apol. 65:3, 67:2) and in St. Clement of Alexandria (Quis Div. 42:20), and has the same uncertainty of meaning attaching to it. Probably it is best to take it as prayer inspired by the Holy Spirit and offered to the Father through Christ.

[96] Ora. 10:2. [97] Ora. 15:2. [98] Ora. 31:5.

[99] Cels. 5:4. [100] Prin. I:8:1.

spoken of as praying to God on behalf of men, or else of joining their prayers with men's that they may be heard.[101] Angels are also mentioned as praying to God and ministering to men who pray to Him.[102] These myriads of powers which man has on his side pray for him even when not asked.[103] Origen does not approve of the invocation of angels.[104] The sun, and moon, and stars are regarded as heavenly beings and spoken of as praying themselves to God through His only begotten Son, consequently men should not pray to them.[105]

Not only are the prayers of the angels mentioned, but also those of the saints and martyrs in heaven. Origen is the first known Christian author to mention such prayers, but there is, however, no invocation of the saints;[106] they pray for men of their own accord. The souls of the saints who have fallen asleep are referred to as joining their prayers with those of men, along with the High Priest and the angels.[107] It is mentioned as a belief of Origen, but not as an accepted fact, that the souls of the saints are present at the assemblies of the communities where they lived and join in the prayers there.[108]

[101] Ora. 11:1,5; Cels. 8:36,64. [102] Cels. 8:34.
[103] Cels. 8:64. [104] Cels. 5:5. [105] Cels. 5:11.
[106] Third century graffiti have been found at Rome in the excavations at San Sebastiano in which St. Peter and St. Paul are invoked to pray for men: *Petre et Paule, petite pro nobis omnibus. Paule, Petre, in orationibus vestris, nos in mente habete* (P. Styger in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XLV. 569). [107] Ora. 11:1. [108] Ora. 31:5.

The martyrs, that is, those who have been put to death because of their witness to our Lord, attend constantly at the heavenly altar and minister forgiveness of sins to those who pray.[109] The picture seems to be of the martyrs, as priests, offering themselves in sacrifice, through which they procure for those for whom they pray the forgiveness of sins which Christ's death secured for men.

In Origen there is found the picture of the prayers of Christians being supplemented in heaven by those of the angels and saints and offered to the Father through His Son the Great High Priest with the request that they be granted. The Church Militant and Triumphant are joined as one in a great communion of prayer.

[109] Pro. 30.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF THE DOCTRINE

When the doctrine of intercession arose in Christianity, it was concerned primarily with salvation, and this was later extended to include forgiveness, even of post-baptismal sins. It was a non-priestly, more or less judicial, form of intercession. There also arose quite independently of this a belief in the intercessory mediation of prayers and praises and thanksgivings which, after the Epistle to the Hebrews, was connected with a conception of our Lord as the Great Heavenly High Priest. After the New Testament period this latter became the predominant form of the belief, although the former continued on throughout the period of the imperial persecutions and gave new meaning to the Q logion about the confession and denial of Christ.

The belief in the heavenly intercession of Christ centered in two regions, that in the East as represented by Asia Minor and Syria, and that in the West as represented by Rome. In the East we have Q, St. Paul, St. Jude, the Johannine writings, St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, and

Origen. In Rome we have Hebrews, 1 St. Peter, St. Clement, St. Justin Martyr, St. Irenaeus, and St. Hippolytus.[1]

The doctrine was known, but it was not prominent in Egypt in the early days, for St. Clement of Alexandria uses the terminology with a different meaning, and we do not find it in the writings of Origen until he reached Caesarea. In Africa Tertullian and St. Cyprian[2] show some knowledge of it, but it does not figure in their schemes of theology, such as they were. This is not surprising, as the Epistle to the Hebrews was still omitted from the North African canon at an even later date.

The doctrine, as can be seen, is particularly connected with Rome and this must be due to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews having been a teacher there. It is found in all the early writings connected with that city, except the Shepherd of Hermas, but this is of no importance, as the work is abnormal and uncertain in its Christology. It is also not found in the early Roman symbol, which arose around 140, nor for that matter in any of the later creeds, but there is also no particular reason why it should be.

This doctrine early influenced the language of prayer. Instead of the old Jewish address "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" we meet with "God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ" as early as St. Paul.

[1] So also Novatian (De Trinitate 14; De Cibis Iudaicis 7).

[2] De Dominica Oratione 3; Epistula 63:4.

Christians pray in the Name of our Lord. His merits occupy the place among them which the merits of the patriarchs did among the Jews. Secondly, Christian prayers close with an ascription of praise to the Father (with Whom the Holy Spirit is joined in later writings), offered through the Son, or else later they close without a doxology using some such phrase as "through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In using such a phrase Christians indicated that their prayers were offered to the Father through His Son. The early examples are all from liturgical prayers, but the exhortations about praying thus would indicate that it was customary in private prayer as well. Christian worship is conceived as a sacrificial offering of prayer to the Father, inspired by the Spirit, through the Son the Great High Priest.

At first, Christ's intercession was regarded more as expedient than as necessary. Later it became the usual way of approaching God in prayer. This was due to the continual exaltation of the position of our Lord in Christian thought, along with the belief that all communion with the Father was mediated through the Son; and also the waning religious fervour of Christians, with its accompanying feeling of a loss of direct contact with God, and a certain unworthiness which precluded a confident expectation of an answer to prayer.

The doctrine of our Lord's intercession is a natural outgrowth of the belief in Him as the sole Mediator

between God and men, against a background of Jewish belief in the intercessory activity of such mediators. It is a doctrine limited in its application and its results solely to Christians. The world outside the Church was without the compass of our Lord's intercessory, as well as mediatory offices. He intercedes only for His disciples, and He does this as being both one with them and One with the Father. As the Head of the Church He is its natural Representative before God. This intercession, except in so far as it is the mediation of prayer, originates solely with Him. We have no examples in this period of men beseeching Him to intercede with the Father for them.[3] He was conceived as continually interceding; men thought of this activity as unceasing. He is heard by the Father because He is His Son Who is not only righteous, but was also obedient even unto death. There is no pleading connected with His intercession and our Lord is never pictured as a suppliant, but as One occupying the place of honour beside the Father in heaven.

The doctrine implies a view of God as the Supreme Sovereign of the universe with a certain subordination of the Son to the Father; and, in the early days, a dis-

[3] So firmly established from the first was the divinity of our Lord and the oneness of His will and purposes with those of the Father, that we never find Christians thinking that they may win Christ to their side to change the will of God. Prayers are either addressed to Christ directly, or else they are presented to the Father through Him. For a possible exception, see 2 Tim. 1:18.

tinction between Them amounting almost to ditheism. This latter was not entirely removed from theological thought even after the Council of Nicaea had declared that the Intercessor was God Himself, of one substance with the Father, and the matter then resolved itself metaphysically into an eternal action within the Trinity.

Intercession as originally conceived was an extension of the Atonement and this relationship is always inherent in the idea. Christ by His death upon the Cross obtained the forgiveness of men's sins and by His intercession He names those for whom, because of their repentance and faith in Him, such forgiveness is to apply.

Furthermore, it was due to His righteous merits in dying for men that He is heard as Intercessor. The Jews and early Christians looked upon righteous acts as credits, claims upon God; their sins were debts, service they owed to Him and had failed to pay. The average Christian, due to his sins, had no claim to be heard by God, but Christ did because of His superabundant merits, and consequently He was asked to present their petitions to the Father for them. The Atonement is then completed and made effective for men in the intercession of Christ.

After Origen there was no real development in the doctrine of the intercession of our Lord. The Arian controversies tended to push it into the background,

as emphasizing too strongly the subordination of the Son, and liturgical expressions in some instances were changed to make clear the equality of the Three Persons as the Recipients of divine honours.[4] Furthermore, popular thought during the middle ages tended to regard our Lord chiefly as Judge, and consequently the saints, and particularly the Virgin, took His place in the minds of the people as intercessors, and were appealed to to intercede with Him. The doctrine has, however, always remained a part of the official teaching of the Church, and is found in both Catholic and Protestant formularies of doctrine,[5] although to-day it is a belief little known to the average Christian and has almost no influence on his religious life.

In view of such a contemporary attitude towards so venerable a doctrine, the question of its validity and usefulness in Christian theology to-day may well be raised. The setting and the language in which the doctrine is expressed have for us a certain unreality be-

[4] J. A. Jungmann, *Die Stellung Christi im liturgischen Gebet*, pp. 151-168.

[5] It is not found, however, in the Anglican *Articles of Religion* nor in the *Catechism*, but the Prayer Book itself contains innumerable instances of the doctrine. *The Augsburg Confession* (Article 21), *The Council of Trent* (Session 22, Chapter 1), *The Westminster Confession of Faith* (Chapter 8:1, 4,8), *The Shorter Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly (Question 25), and *The Larger Catechism* (Questions 44,55) have references to it. Archbishop Ussher refers to it in his *Body of Divinity* and Bishop Jeremy Taylor has numerous references to the belief in *Holy Living*, London, 1930, pp. 24,30, 229,244,281,282,284,286,291,292,296,304 and *Holy Dying*, London, 1929, pp. 53,86,127,130,145,179,210,232,235.

cause of their lack of connection with present-day custom in the matter of worship, which makes the whole seem like a poetic fiction or fancy. But that does not necessarily mean that the underlying idea itself is false or unreal. With the very doctrine of the Atonement itself to-day neglected and metaphysics disdained, it is not surprising that a doctrine connected with both should be ignored.

As the present-day views of eschatology are different from those of New Testament and even Puritan times, and salvation is now conceived more in Johannine than in Synoptic terms, the function of our Lord as Intercessor to name those who are saved through belief in Him has no place to-day. Salvation is the attainment of communion with God, which is achieved by becoming morally and spiritually one with His Son, Who is One with Him. There is consequently no need for any of the judicial machinery of the Synoptic conception. Furthermore our Lord taught that God forgives man whenever he repents, and no other advocate is needed with God for the forgiveness of sins than the fact of man's own repentance. God is not humanly variable or fickle, that man must have a constant intercessor with Him in order to remind Him of His promises and to secure their application for man's benefit.

So again with prayer. Our Lord taught men to pray directly to the Father in childlike confidence

that when they prayed in accordance with God's will they would be heard. Prayer is communion with God, and the essence of communion is the resignation of one's will to God, so that the two wills become the same; the breaking down the barriers of selfishness that the life of God may enter the life of man and that the two lives may become one. The doctrine of Christ's mediation of prayer, unless carefully guarded, would imply that all requests of whatever sort from Christians, their insincere confessions and their unholy thanksgivings, are transmitted to the Father by the Son and become acceptable to Him for that reason. But one can not conceive our Lord as doing any such thing, nor attempting to move or propitiate the will of God in any way towards men, for God's will is unchanging and His love never ending.

From all this it would seem that the doctrine of the heavenly intercession of our Lord in Christian theology is a needless one, and that it has faded into the background deservedly, for the doctrine that salvation is mediated to man by Jesus Christ, and that all communion with the Father is inspired by the Holy Spirit and mediated by the Son can be better and more truly expressed in other ways to-day.[6] So naïve a way of looking at the Persons of the Trinity as to

[6] The doctrine of our Lord's High Priesthood, however, when rightly interpreted, still has value and meaning to-day in connection with the Holy Communion, but rather in a mediatorial than in any intercessory capacity.

imply a need for the Son's eternal intercession with the Father is to detract from both His greatness and His love and to reduce metaphysics to the pious imaginings of a credulous child. The doctrine has had its usefulness in its own day, and to it we owe the present noble form of public prayer. In bequeathing us that it has well earned a claim on our affections, which no amount of unbelief can efface, and has in dying left to itself an enduring monument to enrich the prayers of generations yet to come.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE CONNECTION OF PRAYER AND SACRIFICE

The connection between prayer and sacrifice in the Old Testament is an interesting one, although the thorough investigation of the relationship is hampered by a lack of specific references. The most striking fact is the absence of prescribed prayers to accompany the daily sacrifices. There are, however, a few such scattered throughout the Old Testament in connection with some of the special prescribed sacrifices,[1] as well as some references to prayers accompanying particular sacrifices,[2] and also to the use of songs at such times.[3]

Two things should be noted about these passages. There are no references to prayers of the priests or the high priests accompanying sacrifices, except the high priest's confession over the scapegoat,[4] and the prayers of the priests for Darius.[5] Neither do we find the priests being asked to intercede for the people. In the Old

[1] Lev. 5:5,6, 16:21; Num. 5:7,8,18-22; Deut. 21:1-8, 26:3-10,13-15.

[2] Gen. 12:8, 28:18-22; 1 Sam. 7:6,9, 13:12; 2 Sam. 24:25; 1 Kings 8:22-62; 2 Chron. 6:12-17; Ezra 6:10, 9:5-15.

[3] 2 Chron. 5:12,13; Amos 5:22,23. Cf. also 2 Macc. 1:30.

[4] Lev. 16:21.

[5] Ezra 6:9,10. There are, however, several such references in Philo, showing that the high priest and priests did offer prayers with the sacrifices in the time of our Lord (De Vita Mosis II.133,174; De Sacerdotibus 97,113; De Specialibus Legibus III.131).

Testament the priestly intercession as pictured in the Law is one of act rather than of word. But on the other hand the Old Testament does not give us a detailed picture of the Temple ritual in the time of our Lord.

In the literature after the time of the Old Testament there are several examples in which prayer and sacrifice are found closely connected,[6] particularly in Philo.[7] There are also examples of other things being regarded as the equivalent of sacrifice.[8] These passages go to show the intimate connection of prayer and sacrifice, and because of this fact, both in Judaism, when the sacrifices ceased to be offered after the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70, and also in Christianity, it was easy to regard the prayers which formerly accompanied the sacrifices as sacrifices themselves.[9] And a few times in the Old Testament prayer is found specifically regarded as the equivalent of sacrifice,[10] once being compared to the incense and to the evening sacrifice.[11]

[6] Judith 9:1; 2 Macc. 1:23-32, 2:10, 12:42-45.

[7] De Vita Mosis II.107,133,147,174; De Sacerdotibus 97,113; De Specialibus Legibus III.131.

[8] In Azar. 1:15-17 it is a contrite heart and a humble spirit, while in Sir. 35:1-3 the keeping of the Law and the practising of kindness and mercy are spoken of as sacrifices.

[9] Cf. F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*[5], pp. 221,222.

[10] Ps. 119:108, 141:2; Hos. 14:3.

[11] Ps. 141:2. Besides prayer, righteousness (Ps. 4:5; Prov. 21:3), goodness (Hos. 6:6), knowledge of God (Hos. 6:6), and a broken spirit (Ps. 51:17) are also regarded as the equivalents of sacrifice in the Old Testament.

APPENDIX B

THE CONNECTION OF THE OFFICES OF PRIEST AND KING IN JUDAISM

It is worthwhile noticing the relation of the two offices of priest and king in Judaism. The early rulers of Israel exercised priestly functions by praying and offering sacrifices for their people.[1] But this fell into abeyance until the time of the Maccabees when, in Psalm 110:4, it is the ruler Simon Maccabaeus who is addressed as a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.[2] Later still Philo refers to Moses as king, lawgiver, priest, and prophet,[3] while Josephus refers to John Hyrcanus as the only one to unite in his person three of the highest offices, that of ruler, high priest, and prophet.[4] But due to the tyrannous conduct of the later Maccabean priest-kings opposition to one man holding the double office arose, and the author of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs separates the two and glorifies the Messianic high priest over against the Davidic Messianic king.[5]

[1] 2 Sam. 6:17,18, 24:17,25; 1 Kings 8.22-62; 2 Kings 16:12-15.

[2] His possession of both offices is referred to in 1 Macc. 14:41,47, 15:1,2, and there are references to the holding of the two by members of his family in T. Levi 8:14; Ass. Mos. 6:1, where they are called priests of the Most High God.

[3] De Vita Mosis II.187. [4] Bel. Jud. I.2.8.

[5] T. Levi 18:1-14; T. Jud. 21:1-5.

At the time of our Lord the Jews took Psalm 110 to refer to the Messiah,[6] since this common interpretation is assumed in His discussion with the Pharisees about the Messiah's being David's son.[7] But in the first quarter of the second century Jewish feeling turned bitterly against the Christians and all their ideas, and the earliest rabbinic interpretations of this passage, which date from this period, do not refer it to the Messiah, because the Christians had used it as a proof text for their Lord's Messianic Kingship and High Priesthood. Instead we have it referred to Abraham,[8] to Hezekiah,[9] and to David.[10]

Around the year 260, by which time the intense rivalry between Judaism and Christianity had abated and each was pursuing its separate way, we find the first rabbinic interpretation of the Psalm as referring to the Messiah.[11] It is also referred to David as the prince in Messianic times.[12]

Because under the Law the offices of king and high priest are distinct, the Jews believed that these two offices would be separate in the Messianic Kingdom and they took Psalm 110 to refer to two different men. They are consequently often vague as to exactly who is meant by the reference to the priest, and some-

[6] See Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München, 1922-1928, IV. 452-465.

[7] Matt. 22:41-45 = Mark 12:35-37 = Luke 20:41-44.

[8] Nedarim 32b. [9] Just. Dial. 33:1, 83:1,3. [10] Midr. Ps. 110, sec. 5.

[11] Midr. Ps. 2, sec. 9; Midr. Ps. 18, sec. 29; Bereshith Rabba 85; Yalkut Shimeoni Ps. 110:2.

[12] Seder Elijah Rabba 18; Targ. Ps. 110:1.

times name no one.[13] Most of them, however, believed that the high priest would arise out of the tribe of Levi from among the sons of Aaron.[14] A great many, believing Elijah to be identical with Phinehas, speak of him as the Messianic high priest.[15] The identification of Elijah as the high priest is traced back from Mal. 3:23 to Mal. 3:1 to Mal. 2:4,5 to Num. 25:11-13.[16] Others take the Messianic high priest to be Melchisedek himself.[17]

The significant thing, however, is that in the time of our Lord Psalm 110 was taken by the Jews to refer to the Messiah, but the priest mentioned was taken to be a separate person from the Messianic king.[18] Nevertheless a high priest was looked for in the Messianic Kingdom.

[13] Sukkah 52b; Seder Elijah Rabba 18.

[14] Targ. Jon. to Zech. 4:14; Aboth R. Nathan 34.

[15] Targ. Jon. to Deut. 30:4; Targ. to Lam. 4:22; Targ. Jon. to Exod. 6:18, 40:9-11; Yalkut Shimeoni Num. 25:11.

[16] Midr. Prov. 9:2; Seder Elijah Rabba 18; Midr. Ps. 43:1. See Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, IV. 789-792.

[17] Aboth R. Nathan 34; Pesikta 51a; Midr. Cant. Rabba 2:13; Pesikta Rabbathi 15.

[18] It is worth noticing incidentally that in the corrupt passage Zech. 6:12,13 the Branch who is to build the temple will sit and rule upon his throne and be a priest upon it. Here we find the two offices of king and priest combined. But it is curious that this passage was not interpreted of the Messiah by the Jews in the time of our Lord; and it is not used as a proof text of either His Messiahship or High Priesthood by the early Christians, possibly because the Septuagint varies from the Hebrew and makes the king and the priest separate persons. It is never quoted in the New Testament or Apostolic Fathers, and only in much later times was it cited as a prophecy in support of our Lord's combined Messiahship and High Priesthood.

APPENDIX C

THE SUFFERING SERVANT AS INTERCESSOR

The famous passage in Isaiah 53:12 about the Suffering Servant has been the source of much discussion, particularly as the text of the Septuagint varies from the Hebrew and there is a difference of opinion as to the exact meaning of the verb פָּגַע. In the Qal it is found in the sense "to entreat,"[1] and in the Hiphil in the sense "to cause to entreat."[2] The most natural interpretation of the Hiphil in this passage, and in Isa. 59:16; Jer. 36:25, is as an intensive of the Qal with the meaning "to entreat" or "to make intercession for." This is the interpretation of the American Revised Version, as well as of the latest edition of Gesenius-Buhl's *Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*.

There are, however, many scholars who maintain that הִפְגִּיעַ means "to interpose," and that therefore the passage should be interpreted that the suffering of the Servant interposed with Yahweh as a propitiation for the sins of others. The doctrine is then that of the atoning value of the death or sufferings of the righteous for others' sins. It is the repetition of the same idea as in Isa. 53:10. This interpretation would

[1] Ruth 1:16; Job 21:15; Jer. 7:16, 27:18. [2] Jer. 15:11.

also be in keeping with that of the Septuagint. But the two ideas are really not tremendously different, for the first is a vocal intercession while the second is a silent one; one is the intercession of word, the other of action. Consequently there seems to be no sufficient reason, lexicographical or contexual, to take the verb in any other sense than "to intercede."

The passage can then be translated: "Therefore I shall divide to him a portion among the many, and with the strong will he divide the spoil, forasmuch as he poured out his soul unto death and was numbered with the transgressors; yea he bore the sin of many, and for transgressors he intercedes."

The author of the Servant Songs in all probability had in mind the Jewish nation when he speaks of the Servant. It is the individualization of a group whose distinguishing characteristic is the service of their fellow men. Yahweh is conceived as saying that Israel, though it has been an object of scorn among the other nations, will yet receive the victor's portion. For during all the time it was reckoned as an outcast of Yahweh, it was suffering for the sins of others, not for its own, and by bearing the punishment of their misdeeds it made atonement for them. Though Israel was counted among the transgressors, yet it prayed for those who sinned.

We have here the familiar case of one standing in a special relationship to Yahweh praying of his own accord for forgiveness for others, just as elsewhere

Moses is pictured as doing.[3] There is, however, this difference that nowhere else in the Old Testament is the intercessor pictured as suffering, and in no case is this suffering of itself regarded as an atonement for sins. But the author here does not bring the suffering and the intercession into conjunction with one another, nor do later Jewish writers. In other words, no claim or suggestion is ever made that the suffering causes the intercession to be heard. The point is that, in spite of its treatment, Israel still makes intercession for the sins of others. It is an anticipation of our Lord's teaching about praying for your enemies.[4] The passage is also striking as being the only instance in the Old Testament of intercession for those who are not Jews.

The Septuagint has a different text here with no reference to intercession, but it does picture the Servant as offered up as a propitiation for the sins of others. It apparently read יִפְגַּע in the Hebrew. Its translation runs as follows: "Therefore he will be the heir of many, and he will divide the spoil of the strong; because his soul was delivered up unto death and among the transgressors was he numbered; and he bore the sins of many, and because of their transgressions he was delivered up."

The Targum of Jonathan is a third century A.D. Babylonian recension reflecting, however, the point of view of the second century Palestinian school of Akiba. Many think that it is based on a more or less

[3] Exod. 32:11-13; Deut. 9:18,19,25-29. [4] Matt. 5:44; Luke 6:28.

standardized oral translation going back before the time of our Lord. So uncertain, however, is this point that it is impossible to base any argument for the usage of the New Testament times upon it. In this passage the Targum is more or less faithful to the Hebrew and may be rendered: "Therefore I shall divide to him the spoil of many peoples, and he will divide the goods of strong cities as booty, because he delivered his soul to death, and the rebellious he subjected to the Law. And he will make request for many sins, and it will be remitted to the rebellious because of him." The wicked obtain the forgiveness of their sins through the intercession of the Servant, as in the Hebrew original.

Although the Septuagint became the Bible of the Christian Church, the earliest disciples, as well as St. Paul were brought up in the synagogues where the Hebrew scriptures were read and then translated into Aramaic. Consequently they were familiar with this passage in the Hebrew with its reference to intercession. But it is doubtful if it had any influence in the formation of the Christian belief in our Lord's intercession,[5] because it was through regarding Him as High Priest and not from the idea of the Suffering Servant that the doctrine was chiefly developed.[6]

[5] In 1 Clem. 16:3-14 the whole of Isa. 53:1-12 is quoted according to the Septuagint as a proof of the humility of our Lord, and with no reference to His intercession or High Priesthood.

[6] For a different view, see B. W. Bacon, *The Apostolic Message*, New York, 1925, pp.249,273-275; *The Gospel of Mark*, New Haven, 1925, p.229.

APPENDIX D

ST. MATTHEW 10:32,33 = ST. LUKE 12:8,9

Matt. 10:32 πᾶς οὖν	Luke 12:8 λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, πᾶς
ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ	ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ
ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,	ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
	καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ὁμολογήσω κἀγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ	ὁμολογήσει ἐν αὐτῷ
ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου	ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων
τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς· 33 ὅστις δ'ἂν	τοῦ θεοῦ. 9 ὁ δὲ
ἀρνήσηταί με ἔμπροσθεν	ἀρνησάμενός με ἐνώπιον
τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀρνήσομαι	τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρνηθήσεται
κἀγὼ αὐτὸν ἔμπροσθεν	ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων
τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.	τοῦ θεοῦ.

In seeking to determine which of these two versions represents the original form of Q, the first question arising is whether *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* or *κἀγώ* is to be preferred. "Son of Man" is a favourite term with St. Matthew and is found in his Gospel slightly more often than in any of the others and he inserts it eight times where it is lacking in the other texts. It is not overly common in Q, and St. Luke inserts it four times where the parallel texts omit it. Consequently the probability is in favour of St. Matthew's omission. Also the Matthean form is more balanced with its use of *κἀγώ* twice and is more likely to represent the original saying of our Lord, as much of His teaching is in a balanced poetical form. Such a

rôle as intercessor for the Son of Man is nowhere found in Jewish literature and would come more naturally from a Gentile like St. Luke. As *ἐνώπιον* is found only in St. Luke among the Synoptic Gospels, he has obviously rewritten the passage and the *ἔμπροσθεν* of St. Matthew is the original. For reasons of style and balance the Matthean *κἀγώ* at the end is to be preferred to the Lucan passive of the verb.

In trying to decide between *ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* and *ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων τοῦ θεοῦ*, the question is more difficult because the "My Father in heaven" is a phrase peculiar to St. Matthew, being found six times there, while "before the angels of God" is a phrase unknown in Jewish literature. It occurs once again in a passage from L[1] which strongly suggests that it is due to St. Luke himself here. Furthermore St. Matthew's phrase is thoroughly Jewish. It still remains difficult to see why St. Luke made the change and just what he means by the phrase. Many take it as the angels of the Presence used as a periphrasis for God Himself; others that the angels formed a court and were the judges. The first is the more probable explanation.

One must then conclude that in St. Matthew we have the original Q version. There still remains the question of setting. In St. Matthew it forms part of the instruction of the Twelve after their choice and commission, while in the Third Gospel it is found as an address to the crowds thronging about our Lord

[1] Luke 15:10.

during His journey to Jerusalem. From the very nature of the saying it must have come late rather than early in the ministry, and after the announcement of His Messiahship and His coming passion. St. Luke at this point seems to have a more or less continuous Q narrative. Elsewhere in his Gospel he generally introduces his Q material in large blocks, while St. Matthew breaks it up and distributes it about in various topical discourses. One may, therefore, safely conclude that St. Luke here preserves the original Q setting and order.

The historical setting and order, on the other hand, may well be that of the supposed Marcan parallel,[2] where it follows on as part of the address to the disciples after St. Peter's confession of the Messiahship of our Lord, although it must be remembered that the discourses in St. Mark at this point are a series of detached sayings. In any case the saying came after the acknowledgment of our Lord's Messiahship and His prediction of His coming passion.

The verse then would mean that whoever becomes an open and public disciple of Christ will be acknowledged as such by Christ to His Father; but whoever denies His Messiahship and does not become His disciple will be disowned by Christ.

As it stands it is not specifically connected with the day of judgment nor with admittance into the Kingdom. But the context[3] seems to suggest that the day of

[2] Mark 8:38. [3] Matt. 10:28-31 = Luke 12:4-7.

judgment is meant by its reference to being cast into Gehenna. The supposed Marcan parallel[4] also shows that this saying was so interpreted. Christ is therefore pictured as naming unto His Father those who are to be members of His Kingdom. Their admittance is conditioned upon their faithful following and acknowledging of Him in this life.

Later the verse was thought by many to have particular reference to acknowledging oneself a Christian before a Jewish, or more especially a Roman tribunal, and it is often applied in later literature to martyrdom. Still later the word "confessor" acquired the technical meaning of one who had been brought before a Roman court for being a Christian, and had suffered for it, without being put to death.

A contrast is then made here between earthly courts and the heavenly court of judgment where God sits as Judge with our Lord as the Advocate. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke so understood the verse.[5] No man who did not admit his membership in the Christian Church on earth would be admitted to the heavenly Kingdom.

No mention is made of any pleading on the part of our Lord or of any argument or discussion. His mere interposition to acknowledge or disown is enough. His Presence is its own intercession. This intervention is a judicial, not a priestly one. It is the intervention of One Who is righteous and Who speaks with the per-

[4] Mark 8:38. [5] Cf. Matt. 10:17-28; Luke 12:10-12.

fect confidence of being heard by the Father because Their wills are one. As far as the verse itself is concerned, the intervention might be continual, but, as we have seen, the context limits it to the day of judgment. As the scene is before the Father, and as in the First Gospel He is called "My Father in heaven," and in the Third Gospel mention is made of the "angels of God," the natural supposition is that this scene is laid in heaven.

Now many scholars have grave doubts as to the genuineness of this saying. They believe that it belongs to the secondary strata of the Gospels along with its supposed Marcan parallel, and that they both represent the point of view of the later persecuted community, such as is described in the Acts,[6] expressed in divergent eschatological ways by two different Churches.

The Q logion is rejected because of its use of the first personal pronoun. Throughout the Gospels there is a group of sayings, expressed in the first person, which seem to many to be spurious.[7] Several of these occur in the post-resurrection discourses.[8] But on the other hand there are examples of undisputed sayings of our Lord which contain the ἐγώ, particularly in the Sermon on the Mount.[9] Similarly both the Q and the

[6] There is this to be said, however, that if Q did originate in Antioch, there is no record of any persecution there in the Book of the Acts. The author might, however, have been acquainted with persecution elsewhere. [7] Matt. 10:16, 18:20; Luke 21:15.

[8] Matt. 28:20; Luke 24:39,44,49. [9] Matt. 5:22,28,32,34,39,44.

Marcan sayings are rejected because in them our Lord refers to God as His own Father. In the Marcan Gospel "Father" in reference to God is found only four times and only in Mark 8:38 does our Lord refer to Him as the Father of the Son of Man. In the First Gospel our Lord designates God as His Father seventeen times, but in St. Luke only four times.

Many scholars believe that the Father as the Father of the Son is late and that our Lord never claimed any special Sonship with God. But there is first of all the parable of the vinedressers[10] where in the Marcan and Lucan versions the "beloved" or "only son" occurs, with obvious reference to our Lord. Secondly, our Lord's constant practice when speaking to others is to refer to God as "thy Father" or "your Father," in other words, to make a distinction between His relationship to God and theirs. Thirdly, it is not an unknown Jewish form of address to call God "my Father."[11] And fourthly, our Lord's whole ministry is carried out against the background of His feeling that He stood in some special relationship to the Father and had a special task to perform in His service.

The greater frequency of the phrase "My Father" in the First Gospel is accounted for by its Jewish colouring and its conformity to Jewish modes of

[10] Matt. 21:33-40 = Mark 12:1-9 = Luke 20:9-16.

[11] Jer. 3:4,19 (in reference to God as Father of Israel); Siphra 93d; Aboth 5:20; Pesikta 112b; Mechilta 68b; Wayyikra Rabba 32; Seder Elijah Rabba 28. Cf. Ps. 103:13; Sir. 23:1,4, 51:10; Wisd. of Sol. 2:16, 14:3; Jub. 19:29; 3 Macc. 6:4,8; M. Sotah 9:15; Pesikta Rabbathi 27.

speech. The majority of the instances are from M,[12] which in all probability dates from around 65 in Jerusalem.[13] Twice the author has changed the Marcan "God" into "My Father,"[14] and once he has inserted it where it is not in St. Mark,[15] but this is because it was a more pious Jewish expression than "God" at this period. In the only other Q instance besides the one under consideration, both Gospels have "My Father."[16] Consequently there are no sufficient good reasons for believing that our Lord did not use so characteristic a Jewish phrase as "My Father in heaven."

There are also some who hold that Jesus did not regard Himself as the Son of Man and that the two are separate persons in Luke 12:8 and Matt. 16:27 = Mark 8:38 = Luke 9:26, and consequently Jesus never claimed for Himself this rôle of judicial intervener. Others hold that the later Church, after it had made the identification of Jesus and the Son of Man, inserted this latter phrase into genuine sayings. However, reasons have already been given for accepting Matt. 10:32,33 as the authentic form of the saying, and consequently these views do not hold for it, as the Son of Man is not mentioned.

The real reason with most scholars for rejecting the genuineness of the saying is that it has to do with

[12] Matt. 7:21, 15:13, 16:17, 18:10,14,19, 25:34, 26:42,53.
[13] See B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London, 1924, p. 512.
[14] Matt. 12:50 = Mark 3:35; Matt. 26:29 = Mark 14:25.
[15] Matt. 20:23 = Mark 10:40. [16] Matt. 11:27 = Luke 10:22.

the future activity of our Lord. They do not believe that He ever looked beyond His death nor do they think that He expected His work to be continued by His disciples. But there is nothing more certain than the fact that our Lord looked upon Himself as the Founder of God's Kingdom upon earth, and expected His work to be carried on by His disciples. Consequently it is the most natural thing in the world that He should think of Himself as having some part to play in the naming of those who were to be members of that Kingdom. Our Lord clearly foresaw the fate awaiting Himself and also His disciples, and He knew what a difficult thing it would be to be His disciple; but He also was confident of the sure reward of those who were. Our Lord expected to be put to death, and afterwards to return in glory from heaven and set up the Kingdom of God; and those who had been faithful to Him and to His teaching were to be its members.

Just because the experience of the early Church so exactly accorded with the predicted suffering and persecution, is no reason to suspect our Lord's prediction of what came to pass, nor His promise of reward to those who were faithful. If pious Jews thought of the patriarchs interposing in heaven for their descendants, there is nothing improbable in the fact that our Lord should think of Himself as performing a similar function for His disciples.

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APPENDIX E

ST. PAUL'S USE OF ΔΙΑ

In the Septuagint διά is used with a personal genitive both in an instrumental[1] and an instrumental causal sense.[2] These same two senses of instrumentality[3] and instrumental causality[4] are both found in connection with the phrases διὰ θεοῦ and διὰ κυρίου.[5]

In the New Testament the instrumental sense alone is found in the Four Gospels, Philippians, 2 Thessalonians, the Pastoral Epistles, Philemon, and the Apocalypse, but in the rest of the New Testament both senses prevail. The instrumental causal sense is found in Acts 1:2, 11:28, 21:4 with reference to the Spirit, and once with reference to Christ as the Inspirer of faith,[6] and the instrumental sense eleven times. Outside of the Pauline writings the instrumental causal sense occurs in 1 Pet. 1:21; 1 John 4:9; instances of the instrumental sense are too numerous to need mention.

In the writings of St. Paul we find the instrumental sense in reference to Christ as the Agent in creation,[7] judgment,[8] salvation,[9] the impartation of spiritual

[1] Exod. 35:29. [2] Num. 35:30. [3] Isa. 51:20. [4] Josh. 11:20.
[5] See A. Schettler, *Die paulinische Formel "durch Christus,"* Tübingen, 1907. [6] Acts 3:16. [7] 1 Cor. 8:6; Col. 1:16. [8] Rom. 2:16.
[9] Rom. 5:1,2,9,11b,17,21, 8:37; 1 Cor. 15:57; 2 Cor. 5:18; Gal. 6:14; Eph. 1:5; Col. 1:20; 1 Thess. 4:14, 5:9.

strength,[10] and the call to apostleship.[11] St. Paul uses it in an instrumental causal sense in reference to our Lord's inspiration of his directions to the Thessalonians;[12] of confidence towards God;[13] of the Corinthians assent that God's promises are fulfilled in Him;[14] of the Christians' exultation over their salvation;[15] and of our Lord's and the Spirit's inspiration of the Romans to pray for St. Paul at his request.[16] In 2 Cor. 9:11 διά is used in the sense of the mediating cause in reference to Christians and in 2 Cor. 1:11,20b as the practical equivalent of ὑπό. The cases of the instrumental sense are all from God to man, of the instrumental causal from men to God. This latter is significant.

Let us now consider the passages with διά which refer to prayer. There are none in St. Paul's earliest Epistles, Galatians and the two to Thessalonica and to Corinth. It is only when we come to Romans and Colossians that we find such, and they all have to do with thanksgiving in one form or another. As we have seen St. Paul uses διά with a personal genitive both in an instrumental and an instrumental causal sense. There are also a large number of passages where prayer and thanksgiving are referred to without any qualifying prepositional phrase. Consequently it is difficult to decide what St. Paul does mean; whether he is referring to thanksgiving which is presented to

[10] Rom. 1:5; Phil. 1:11. [11] Gal. 1:1b. [12] 1 Thess. 4:2.
[13] 2 Cor. 3:4. [14] 2 Cor. 1:20a. [15] Rom. 5:11a. [16] Rom. 15:30.

the Father from men by Christ, or to thanksgiving inspired by the indwelling Christ.

St. Paul, due undoubtedly to the vision on the Damascus Road, believed that for the Christian all communion with God was mediated by Christ.[17] It was through Christ that God bestowed His salvation and His spiritual gifts of grace; God approaches men through Christ, and so likewise men approach God,[18] but only because God has first approached them. Moreover all prayer to God was divinely inspired; every Christian prayer was a prayer in the Spirit.[19]

St. Paul believed in the old Jewish doctrine of the merits of the fathers;[20] he also believed that Christians were saved, not by their own merits, but by their faith in One Whose merits were superabundant. Consequently in his prayers he substitutes for the old Jewish address "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" a new one "God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."[21] This is an indirect appeal to the merits of Christ as a reason for the hearing of the prayers of His spiritual children.

It must also be remembered that St. Paul was brought up in a Jewish atmosphere, where the doctrine of the mediation of prayer was a common one. Consequently there is every doctrinal presupposition in favour of St. Paul's belief in a mediation of prayer to God by Christ. Now all such mediation is an inter-

[17] 1 Cor. 8:6. [18] Eph. 2:18. [19] Eph. 6:18.
[20] Rom. 11:28. [21] Col. 1:3.

cession, for it carries with it the plea of the merits of him who presents it.

For all these various reasons it is most natural to take Rom. 1:8, 7:25, 16:27; Col. 3:17 as Christ mediating the thanksgiving to God and its taking on new and added significance by His so doing. Eph. 2:18 could then be interpreted specifically of the access of prayer.

There are some who think, however, that these passages refer to thanksgiving inspired by Christ; that there is no point in His mediating thanksgiving (which is not a request); that wherever else διά is used of a man-to-God relation it is found in the instrumental causal sense; and that St. Paul chiefly thought of Christ as immanent in believers.

The question really hinges on what was St. Paul's view of the activity of the risen Lord. We find an equal number of passages both where Christ is regarded as transcendent in heaven[22] and also where He is conceived as immanent and active within the believers.[23] And these two views are often found side by side.[24] Consequently we are left to other factors to determine the question, and they seem to point slightly more in favour of the view that our Lord mediated, rather than inspired, prayer.

[22] Rom. 14:9; 1 Cor. 1:17, 15:24; 2 Cor. 5:6,8; Gal. 1:12; Eph. 1:20-23; Phil. 3:20; Col. 3:1; 1 Thess. 1:10; 2 Thess. 1:7.

[23] Rom. 8:10; 2 Cor. 12:19, 13:3,5; Gal. 1:16, 2:20; Col. 1:27; 1 Thess. 4:2. [24] Col. 3:3,4.

As for the phraseology, St. Paul employs both διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ[25] and διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν[26] in reference to the mediation of thanksgiving. These same two phrases,[27] as well as διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,[28] are also used by him in reference to other mediatorial acts and to salvation. In reference to the mediation of prayer and praise, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of St. Peter employ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,[29] while the Epistle of St. Jude has διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν,[30] the only other times these phrases are used in connection with the mediation of prayer in the New Testament. As can be seen, from the very first there was no one nor any special phrase used exclusively to indicate our Lord's mediation of prayer.

[25] Rom. 1:8, 16:27. [26] Rom. 7:25.
[27] Rom. 5:21; Gal. 1:1; Eph. 1:1; Phil. 1:11.
[28] Rom. 5:1,11, 15:30; 1 Cor. 15:57; 1 Thess. 5:9.
[29] Heb. 13:21; 1 Pet. 2:5, 4:11. [30] Jude 1:25.

APPENDIX F

PRAYER IN CHRIST'S NAME

The phrase *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου* calls for some discussion.[1] *Ὄνομα* with reference to our Lord is found used in the New Testament, in addition to its usual translation of "name," with the meanings "power" or "authority,"[2] in which cases the power or authority is made actual by the use of the Name of Jesus. It also occurs as a periphrasis for Christ Himself,[3] particularly in reference to His work as the Mediator of redemption,[4] and also in connection with prayer, where the mention of His Name naturally involves an acknowledgment that the person praying is His disciple.[5] This mention of or calling upon the Name of the Lord in prayer is an acknowledgment of His Lordship, a confession of faith in Him, and is associated in several instances with prayer at baptism. It was apparently based on the words of

[1] See W. Heitmuller, *Im Namen Jesu*, Göttingen, 1903, and especially pp.257-265; E. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, pp. 128,129.

[2] Matt. 7:22a,b,c; Mark 9:38,39, 16:17; Luke 9:49, 10:17, 24:47; Acts 3:6,16a,b, 4:7,10,30, 9:27,29, 16:18, 19:13; 1 Cor. 1:10; Phil. 2:9a,10; Col. 3:17; 2 Thess. 3:6; Jas. 5:14.

[3] Acts 15:26; Heb. 13:15.

[4] John 20:31; Acts 4:12, 10:43; 1 Cor. 6:11.

[5] Matt. 18:20; Acts 2:21, 9:14,21, 22:16; Rom. 10:13; 1 Cor. 1:2; Eph. 5:20; 2 Tim. 2:19.

the prophet Joel:[6] "And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the Name of the Lord shall be delivered."

Baptism itself is administered either "into the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,"[7] or "in the Name of Jesus Christ,"[8] or "upon the Name of Jesus Christ,"[9] or "into the Name of the Lord Jesus."[10] At baptism then the candidate calls upon Jesus Christ as his Lord and acknowledges Him as such, or in later usage he acknowledges his submission to the God Who has manifested Himself as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and consequently it is "in the Name" or "into the Name" of Jesus or the Trinity that he is baptized.[11]

Coming now to the Johannine passages concerning prayer "in My Name" we find two different interpretations of the phrase. Some take it to mean "in My authority," "in My spirit," "as one of My disciples," "in the interest of My cause," "in union with Me," "in a Christian way." Others take it as meaning "by calling on Me," "by making use of My Name in praying." This last is the primary underlying meaning in both the Septuagint and the New Testament, and the one which best fits in with the passages here. It was so understood by St. Chrysostom[12] and Theophylact.[13]

[6] Joel 3:5. Cf. also Zech. 13:9. [7] Matt. 28:19.
[8] Acts 10:48. [9] Acts 2:38. [10] Acts 8:16, 19:5.
[11] *Eis* is frequently used for *ἐν* in later Greek.
[12] John Hom. LXXIV. [13] John Hom. 14:3.

This agrees with the fact that the works which Christians are to do[14] are all performed by making use of Christ's Name,[15] and consequently the prayer[16] in which they pray concerning them would include the calling upon His Name. Some have taken this use of Christ's Name in Christian prayer as meaning that Christ is thought of as mediating their prayers to the Father with the request that they be heard. The fact that His disciples have asked nothing as yet in His Name and are not to do so until His glorification[17] might suggest that the idea of Christ's heavenly intercession or mediation of prayer does underlie these passages, for it could only be after Christ's exaltation to His preëxistent glory that He would become the heavenly Intercessor for His own disciples. The phrase would then mean that Christians were to pray to the Father calling upon Christ by name to present their prayers to Him. But there is a serious objection to this in John 14:14, which reads according to the best texts: *ἐάν τι αἰτήσητέ με ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐγὼ ποιήσω.* Our Lord can not be conceived as interceding with Himself.

The entire verse is omitted by X Λ* 1 22 565 b fu syr^{sin} arm^{zoh}. Its omission by both the Old Syriac and the Old Latin is significant, but this may be due to the fact that the translator thought it only a careless scribal repetition of John 14:13. The *με* is found in ℵ B E U W Γ Δ Θ 33 f vg, but omitted in A D G L a e sah boh.

[14] John 14:12. [15] Cf. Acts 3:6, 4:30, 16:18.
[16] John 14:13. [17] John 16:23,24,26.

In considering the manuscript evidence the Neutral text favours the insertion, it is the *lectio difficilior*, and it makes grammatical and also theological sense in the passage. The Western text omits it, as well as certain other manuscripts which are not specifically of that family. It is also true that this would be the only instance of prayer to our Lord in the Gospel and the only place in the Bible where He is recorded as referring to prayer to Himself. On the other hand, it is difficult to account for the insertion of με on transcriptional or doctrinal grounds, and consequently the presumption is in favour of the retention of the με in the text, particularly as it is Christ Who answers the prayer. We must conclude therefore that if this verse is a genuine part of the Gospel, which is open to grave doubts, the author did not picture our Lord as mediating the prayers of His disciples to the Father. In any case it shows that such was very early taken to be the author's view.

Others, however, maintain that the phrase "in My Name" is used somewhat analogously to a magical formula. There is no doubt that in the contemporary popular Judaism, and expecially in the Hellenism of this period, the use of the names of gods and of angels in magical formulae was common, and there is sufficient proof that the Name of Jesus was so used both within and without the early Church.[18] They believed that if you knew the name of a god and used it cor-

[18] Acts 19:13; Origen Cels. 1:6.

rectly in a formula the god was bound to do the person's will. But such an immoral conception is entirely disconsonant with all that we know of early Christian prayer, the granting of which is conditioned on the moral attitude of the person praying,[19] particularly on the keeping of the commandments.[20]

[19] John 15:16. [20] John 14:15, 15:17; 1 John 3:22.

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